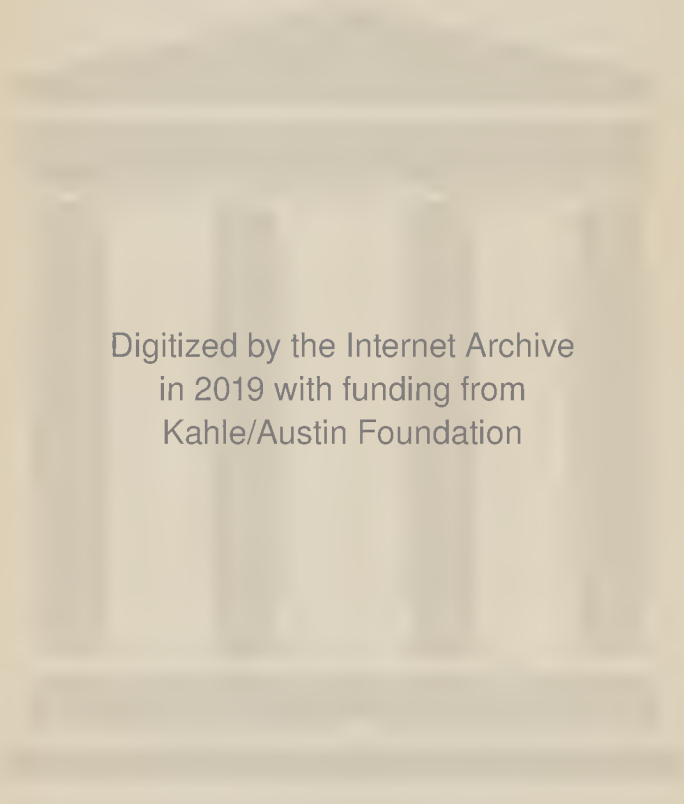
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THACKERAY'S
ENGLISH HUMOURISTS

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THE ENGLISH HUMOURISTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

A SERIES OF LECTURES

BY

W. M. THACKERAY

[FIRST EDITION 1853; SECOND EDITION, REVISED, 1853]

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

C. B. WHEELER

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CONTENTS

PAGE

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION vii

LECTURE THE FIRST

SWIFT 1

LECTURE THE SECOND

CONGREVE AND ADDISON 43

LECTURE THE THIRD

STEELE 82

LECTURE THE FOURTH

PRIOR, GAY, AND POPE 123

LECTURE THE FIFTH

HOGARTH, SMOLLETT, AND FIELDING 170

LECTURE THE SIXTH

STERNE AND GOLDSMITH 208

EDITOR'S NOTES 249

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INTRODUCTION

THE first of Thackeray's *Lectures on the English Humourists* was given at Willis's Rooms, London, on May 21, 1851. It was attended by a large audience, which included many of his friends, among the number being Carlyle, Hallam, Kinglake, Macaulay, and Milman. The last lecture was delivered on July 3. The whole series was an unqualified success, so that invitations for a repetition poured in from all over the country. The lectures were accordingly repeated in a number of towns both in England and Scotland for the succeeding twelve months ; and in the autumn of 1852 Thackeray carried them to America. Here he received a warm welcome from a nation that does nothing by halves ; and he travelled from town to town, not merely enjoying the hospitality of the most hospitable people in the world, but making money faster than he had ever made it before.

Dr. Johnson could see no good in lectures, except where experiments were to be shown, 'as in chemistry or the making of shoes.' But here, as in many other cases, the eminent doctor was taking a one-sided view of the question. From the lecturer's point of view a course of lectures may be ten times more profitable than the same amount of time spent in mere pen-work. Thackeray had been trying for seventeen years to live by his pen ; and, though he had been moderately successful, he had not been able to make any provision

for his own future or that of his daughters. On his lecturing tour at home he made as much as 150*l.* for each course, which, as he says, is 'pretty well for six hours'; and from America he brought back no less than 2,500*l.*, so that he felt no further anxiety with regard to money.

Johnson in his wholesale condemnation of lectures had also failed to take into account the curiosity of the audience, the almost childish love of humanity for personalities. Most people on reading a book which strongly appeals to them are apt to exclaim, 'What a charming writer! How I wish I knew him!' and, failing a private introduction, they will flock in crowds to see him and hear his voice; though, unless the author has a winning personality—which is found no more commonly among authors than any other class—the result of their inspection is too often to tone down—quite unfairly—their admiration for the author's writings.

It is not too much to say that the success of Thackeray's lectures was due far more to the interest the public took in the lecturer than to any desire to hear what he had to say about the writers of the eighteenth century. What was Addison to them, or they to Addison? But Michael Angelo Titmarsh, the white-haired giant in spectacles, who had already forced his way into the front rank of English writers, who knew how to touch men's hearts by his pathos, to delight them with his humour, and to sting them with his sarcasm—he was one whom all would flock to hear, on whatever topic he chose to speak.

And Thackeray, who knew his world, was far too wise to suppose that he could interest a general audience

in his subject on its purely literary side: to make his lectures a success, he had to feed the public with personalities, to indulge their curiosity as to the lives, habits, loves, and hatreds of the authors who formed his subject; as he says in his opening sentence, to speak of the men, rather than of their books.

This decision, however acceptable to 'the general', is to be regretted by those who prefer to feel sure of the grounds of a discussion: for, while there is comparative certainty what an author wrote—though considerable emphasis must be laid on the 'comparative'—there is not, and there cannot be, for us, any kind of certainty what he was. Put Forster's portrait of Swift alongside of Dr. Johnson's: which is the true likeness? Is either? Would one even know them to be pictures of the same man? But there is no doubt whatever as to the character of Captain Lemuel Gulliver.

Moreover, this personal criticism is hardly fair. Unless, like the Roman poet, an author has asked to be judged by his life rather than his writings, the interest of the public ought in common justice to be directed to that which the author has given it, which is presumably the best he had to give, rather than to the more intimate and personal details which he has seen fit to withhold. That Thackeray himself felt this is shown by the wish he expressed that no biography of himself should be written: not that there was anything to be concealed in his eminently upright, kindly, and industrious life, but, as I take it, because he drew an instinctive and altogether right distinction between the public and the private side of a man's character. It is—or it ought to be—of no possible interest to us that

Captain Sir Richard Steele, or His Worship Henry Fielding, Esquire, stipendiary magistrate, was often carried drunk to bed; actions such as this they never cared to make public in their lives, nor would they readily have had published to posterity; what concerns us, and what they wished to concern us, is the behaviour of Sir Roger de Coverley and Tom Jones, of which we should read without dwelling on the infirmities of their creators, even when touched on by the gentle hand of an admirer.

But even those who deplore this tea-table gossip—whose cessation would relieve the world of an enormous yearly output of books—will be ready to admit that Thackeray has been better than his word, and has diluted his criticism of his authors' lives with so many allusions to their writings that the lover of letters will find more food in these lectures than the lover of scandal. They are, moreover, intensely provocative of appetite, and drive the reader again and again to the bookshelf to make, or to renew, the acquaintance of an author who has been so charmingly and so tantalizingly brought before him.

There is a felicity of phrase in the selection of the title for the lectures on the English Humourists which is in itself a stroke of genius. It is not easy to think of any other term under which it would have been possible to treat of characters so different as the twelve great men of the eighteenth century whom Thackeray has thus brought together. For what is there in common between the savage irony of Swift, the deep religious feeling of Addison, the terse moral platitudes of Pope, the half-veiled indecencies of Sterne, the rampant

coarseness of Smollett, the intense humanity of Goldsmith, and the pregnant delineations of Hogarth—what have all these in common, but that they were in each case accompanied by what is, both for the possessor and those around him, one of the best of Fortune's gifts—a sense of humour? It would indeed be difficult to find (apart from their common humanity or language) any other bond which would unite together these twelve men, so different in their lives, their aims, their subjects, their styles, their powers—in all, in fact, that goes to distinguish man from man.

But apart from the insight which enabled him to detect this point of resemblance, Thackeray has brought together in his selection nearly all the writers of the eighteenth century whose names are familiar to the public of to-day. As the only bond of union among these twelve is their humour, it would seem to be a fair assumption that it is to this they owe their vitality; that it is this and no other quality which has acted as a preservative and saved them from the limbo to which so many of their contemporaries, esteemed great in their day, have been relegated by the judgement of posterity. It does not, of course, follow that nothing will live which is not humorous. Had Gibbon never brought the least trace of a smile to his readers' lips, he would be secure of his seat among the immortals; while Newton and Adam Smith, however far removed from the order of Humourists, have laid the foundations of edifices so vast that their names will never be forgotten. Boswell, too, may be thought to be a person in whom the sense of humour is somewhat lacking—

not that, as the southerners sometimes foolishly assert, his nationality sufficiently debars him from that gift; for this unjust aspersion of a whole people will hardly outlive a generation which has known Mr. Andrew Lang and Mr. J. M. Barrie. But if Boswell had little original humour—and few hero-worshippers have very much—there is abundance of humour in his pages transcribed from the lips of others; and who shall say that it is not due, in a measure, to this that he is still popular? that it is not the Attic salt in his pages which has kept them sweet for posterity?

For it would appear that in this country a sense of humour is as desirable in a writer as it is undesirable and even dangerous, in the eyes of the public, when it appears in a politician, or a professional man, or indeed any one engaged in the serious business of life. In the case of any one of these we allow an ounce of wit to outweigh a pound of wisdom, and only give our full confidence to those who never make us laugh. But in a writer the case is exactly the reverse—possibly because we do not take letters seriously—and literary criticism, religious exhortation, political diatribes are all doomed to an early grave unless they are seasoned with the saving grace of humour.

If we judge by this standard, there is little doubt that Thackeray is safely seated among the immortals; for of all the styles of humour, from the subtly suggestive to the broadly rollicking, he was a master. He is the delight at once of the scholar, whose appreciation is only displayed by a deepening of the crinkles round his eyes, and of the schoolboy, whose explosive outbursts over *The Tremendous Adventures of Major Gahagan*

render him for a while unfit for sedate society. In Thackeray's case this humour, no doubt, did but serve to cover the intense feeling, the deep pity with which he surveyed the follies and blunders of men's lives, the irony and mischance of Fate. Like another famous character he needs must laugh to save himself from tears. And this is the man to whom some—chiefly those who have never read him—have chosen to apply the term 'cynic'! The last possible definition of a cynic would be 'one who loves his fellow-men', and that would be almost the first title to be given to Thackeray by one who had not merely read him, but had learnt enough of life to be able to read between his lines. Granted that his love for mankind was not blind, that he looked into men and women and saw them, not as saints and sages, but as very human, very peccable, very blundering strugglers after happiness; he yet seemed in many cases to possess a power of understanding which enabled him to love them for all their imperfections. Not but that he had his touches of impatience too, proving thereby his own kinship with humanity; and then it must be owned he was hardly fair to the object of his dislike; indeed he comes perilously near to the attitude of the 'good hater' beloved by Dr. Johnson. Certain things seem to rouse him to a bitterness of opposition, in which he will admit of no extenuating circumstances, listen to no plea, allow no suggestion that possibly there were faults on both sides; and on these occasions he pours in caustic and vitriol in a manner which is utterly at variance with his usual kindly placidity.

It is more creditable to Thackeray's chivalry than his

sense that this feeling is most often aroused by matrimonial differences. Thus in the present work, having made up his mind that Stella was an angel, and that Swift was quite unworthy of her, he can see no virtues whatever in Vanessa, and seems to rejoice with most unchristian exultation when she dies of a broken heart.

Sterne, too, falls under the lash, because he was ingenuous enough to confess after five-and-twenty years of married life that his wife bored him. Surely that was in itself misfortune enough for poor Yorick, without his being held up to the odium and contempt of posterity. If Mrs. Sterne, with the unrivalled opportunities of making herself indispensable which fall to every wife, chose to go her own way and neglect them, was it solely her husband's fault if he found himself bored in her society ? Thackeray seems to have ignored the perfectly sound maxim that in matrimonial differences there are always faults on both sides ; and in laying the whole blame on Yorick's shoulders and entirely exonerating Mrs. Sterne he betrays more than a trace of mid-Victorian *bourgeoisie*, which his admirers can only deplore. This is not, of course, intended as a defence of Sterne, the whitewashing of whose character would require an almost superhuman gift of casuistry. His egotism, his inconstancy, his maudlin sentimentalism, and utter lack of manliness, are enough to disgust the most charitable of readers. Even his stoutest advocate, Mr. Fitzgerald, is almost obliged to give him up in the end and admit that there is not much to be said in his favour. But while admitting all this, we may yet regret that Thackeray should so signally have abandoned the judicial attitude. Sterne has painted himself quite black enough in his

Letters; there was no need for Thackeray to deepen the shadows.

The truth is that Thackeray was much more an artist than an historian; he loved strong lights and dark shades, broad lines and striking contrasts. Hence came the undue leniency he shows towards his favourites and the ultra-Draconian severity with which he passes judgement on those he dislikes. This makes it all the more regrettable that Thackeray should have chosen the personal rather than the literary side of his subject. For an artist's criticism of the work of other artists will almost certainly be more valuable than his opinion of their personal characters; and few will be found to impugn Thackeray's literary judgements in these lectures, while his personal criticism will certainly not meet with any such general acceptance.

As to the value of the *Lectures* one can hardly do better than quote what Professor Saintsbury says in his Introduction to *Esmond*, &c., in the Oxford Thackeray: 'Such another *live* piece of English criticism of English literature as this I do not know anywhere. . . . Addison may be a little depressed and Steele a little exalted; but it is necessary to remember that by Macaulay, whose estimate then practically held the field, Steele had been most unduly depressed and Addison rather unduly exalted. You may go about among our critics on the brightest day with the largest lantern and find nothing more brilliant itself than the "Congreve" article, where the spice of injustice will, again, deceive nobody but a fool. The vividness of the "Addison and Steele" presentation is miraculous. He redresses Johnson on Prior, as he had redressed Macaulay on

Steele ; and he is not unjust, as we might have feared that he would be, to Pope.[1] " Hogarth, Smollett, and Fielding " is another miracle of appreciation ; and I should like to ask the objectors to " sentimentality " by what other means than an intense sympathy (from which it is impossible to exclude something that may be called sentimental) such a study as that of Goldsmith could have been produced ? Now Goldsmith is one of the most difficult persons in the whole range of literature to treat, from the motley of his merits and his weaknesses. Yet Thackeray has achieved the adventure here. In short, throughout the book, he is invaluable as a critic, if not impeccable in criticism. His faults, and the causes of them, are obvious, separable, negligible: his merits (the chief of them, as usual, the constant shower of happy and illuminative phrase) as rare in quality as they are abundant in quantity.'

To those who have unsuccessfully tried to admire Thackeray's other works, the *Lectures* may be hopefully recommended owing to their comparative freedom from those irritating ' parabases ', as Professor Saintsbury calls them, those constantly recurring appeals to the reader to turn his attention to his own or the writer's affairs—appeals which no doubt are designed to point a moral, but most emphatically do not adorn a tale. Weary of his own surroundings—as every one over the age of six must be at one time or another—the reader seizes a book from the shelf and sinks into a chair, murmuring with the poet,

Out of my country and myself I go ;

[1] Whose character he regarded in a far more favourable light than is justified by later investigations.—Ed.

only to find himself confronted in a few pages with 'And have not you and I, dear reader, &c.', so that he is not a little disgusted at finding himself, like Mrs. Hardcastle, at the bottom of his own garden after a twenty-mile drive, which he hoped would land him twenty miles from home.

Despite the disgust which all decent people feel at selections and expurgated editions, I have almost wished at times that some one would edit an edition of Thackeray without these terrible excrescences, or at least relegate them to an appendix for the benefit of the introspective. But were such an edition of the *Humourists* issued, the appendix would be but a tiny fragment of the whole, so seldom does the author abandon the pen for what our forefathers would have termed 'the ferule'. To all those, therefore, who like 'instruction combined with amusement', and dislike being preached at, the *Humourists* may confidently be recommended; the editor only hopes that the reader may derive from his researches some portion of the pleasure which he has found in making them.

The first edition of the *Lectures* appeared in 1853, and was followed by a 'second edition, revised' in the same year. These two are apparently from the same type-setting; the alterations, which were not very numerous, are indicated in my notes. A third edition in 1858 seems to have ignored the second, and to have followed the first with only trivial differences of typography. In the footnotes I have not detected any variations in the three editions.

I have uniformly followed the text of the second edition throughout; except that in the extracts, with

which the *Lectures* are so copiously supplied, I have ventured to restore the true reading where—as not infrequently happens—Thackeray has transcribed a passage inaccurately. It is with some hesitation that I have thus tampered with the author's text; but I felt that it was of more importance to give the reader the actual words used by Swift, Pope, or Goldsmith, than to allow Thackeray's misquotations to stand. I was encouraged in my view by finding that Thackeray's daughter, Lady Ritchie, had adopted the same course in her Biographical Edition, though she has done so with less uniformity than might be desired.

The footnotes, according to Lady Ritchie, were chiefly written by James Hannay. He was a writer who had made Thackeray's acquaintance in 1849, and was, as he tells us in his *Characters and Criticisms*, entrusted with the manuscript of the *Lectures* by Thackeray, when he sailed for America in October 1852, with the request that he would annotate it during his absence. That the notes are not all Hannay's is certainly rendered probable by the style of some of them; that they are not all Thackeray's is proved—apart from other evidence—by the carelessness with which the selection of extracts was sometimes made. Thus in two places Thackeray refers in his lecture to two definite letters, and in the footnotes two others are given *in extenso* as the ones referred to.

In correcting the extracts given, whether in the text or footnotes, I have tried as far as possible to use the editions from which the passage was transcribed. Thus Scott's *Swift* (1824) and Roscoe's *Pope* (1824) being referred to several times, I have adopted those as the

standard; more than one passage makes it apparent that Singer's edition of Spence, and not Malone's, was used (though the annotator seems to have confused the two); for the *Tatler* I have mainly followed the edition of 1713, and for the *Spectator* that of 1712, these being the earliest, apart from the originals, which show numerous slight variations from the collected editions. In the case of many of the works cited the interesting question of textual selection did not arise—as there was but one edition; where there were several, I have tried to find authority for the reading given by Thackeray or Hannay, and only altered the extract where I failed to find it.

I have inserted references in square brackets to all those passages where a reference was not already given; where it was I have verified it, so that I may be held equally responsible for both.

There have been, so far as I can discover, only two serious attempts to annotate the *English Humourists*: one by Professor Ernst Regel with German notes, published at Halle in 1885; the other by Professor Phelps of Yale, published in 1900. Both of these I have consulted with profit—though I must admit that in the one allusion in the *Lectures* which I had failed to find I got no help from either. Professor Regel's edition is a monument of German industry and learning; his prolegomena and appendices are extraordinarily full, and show a knowledge of the eighteenth-century English writers which would put most Englishmen to the blush. If I have been able to clear up a few points in which he failed, I owe it far more to the good fortune which has directed me—'by chance' as we say—to the discovery

of the clue than to any superiority in erudition. At the same time, the occasional errors into which the learned professor has fallen—some of them laughable enough—illustrate the immense difficulties besetting one who tries to comment on a foreign author; and I have wondered—and not for the first time—what would be the sensations of a cultured Roman of the Augustan age, or a Greek of the fifth century B.C., on reading the finest efforts of modern classical scholarship.

Of my own notes, some are designed for those who have to some degree studied the period, others are for those who have but little acquaintance with it: I would ask members of either class to consider that any note which may be above or beneath their comprehension is intended for the other.

THE ENGLISH HUMOURISTS
OF THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

LECTURE THE FIRST
SWIFT

In treating of the English humourists of the past age, it is of the men and of their lives, rather than of their books, that I ask permission to speak to you; and in doing so, you are aware that I cannot hope to entertain you with a merely humorous or facetious story. Harlequin without his mask is known to present a very sober countenance, and was himself, the story goes, the melancholy patient whom the Doctor advised to go and see Harlequin [1]—a man full of cares and perplexities like the rest of us, whose Self must always be serious to him, under whatever mask, or disguise, or uniform he presents it to the public. And as all of you here must needs be grave when you think of your own past and present, you will not look to find, in the histories of those whose lives and feelings I am going to try and describe to you, a story that is otherwise than serious, and often very sad. If Humour only meant laughter, you would scarcely feel more interest about humorous writers than about the private life of poor Harlequin just mentioned, who possesses in common with these the power of making you laugh. But the men regarding whose lives and stories your kind presence here shows that you have curiosity and sympathy, appeal to a great number of our other faculties, besides our mere sense of ridicule.

[1] The anecdote is frequently told of our performer, Rich.

The humorous writer professes to awaken and direct your love, your pity, your kindness—your scorn for untruth, pretension, imposture—your tenderness for the weak, the poor, the oppressed, the unhappy. To the best of his means and ability he comments on all the ordinary actions and passions of life almost. He takes upon himself to be the week-day preacher, so to speak. Accordingly, as he finds, and speaks, and feels the truth best, we regard him, esteem him—sometimes love him. And, as his business is to mark other people's lives and peculiarities, we moralize upon *his* life when he is gone—and yesterday's preacher becomes the text for to-day's sermon.

Of English parents, and of a good English family of clergymen,[1] Swift was born in Dublin in 1667, seven months after the death of his father, who had come to practise there as a lawyer. The boy went to school at Kilkenny, and afterwards to Trinity College, Dublin, where he got a degree with difficulty, and was wild, and witty, and poor. In 1688, by the recommendation of his mother, Swift was received into the family of Sir William Temple, who had known Mrs. Swift in Ireland. He left

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[1] He was from a younger branch of the Swifts of Yorkshire. His grandfather, the Rev. Thomas Swift, Vicar of Goodrich, in Herefordshire, suffered for his loyalty in Charles I's time. That gentleman married Elizabeth Dryden, a member of the family of the poet. Sir Walter Scott gives, with his characteristic minuteness in such points, the exact relationship between these famous men. Swift was 'the son of Dryden's second cousin'. Swift, too, was the enemy of Dryden's reputation. Witness the *Battle of the Books*:—'The difference was greatest among the horse,' says he of the moderns, 'where every private trooper pretended to the chief command, from Tasso and Milton to Dryden and Withers.' And in *Poetry, a Rhapsody*, he advises the poetaster to—

> Read all the Prefaces of Dryden,
> For these our critics much confide in,
> Though merely writ, at first, for filling,
> To raise the volume's price a shilling.

'Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet,' was the phrase of Dryden to his kinsman, which remained alive in a memory tenacious of such matters.

his patron in 1693, and the next year took orders in Dublin. But he threw up the small Irish preferment which he got and returned to Temple, in whose family he remained until Sir William's death in 1699. His hopes of advancement in England failing, Swift returned to Ireland, and took the living of Laracor. Hither he invited Hester Johnson,[1] Temple's natural daughter, with whom he had contracted a tender friendship, while they were both dependants of Temple's. And with an occasional visit to England, Swift now passed nine years at home.

In 1709 he came to England, and, with a brief visit to Ireland, during which he took possession of his deanery of St. Patrick, he now passed five years in England, taking the most distinguished part in the political transactions which terminated with the death of Queen Anne. After her death, his party disgraced, and his hopes of ambition over, Swift returned to Dublin, where he remained twelve years. In this time he wrote the famous *Drapier's Letters* and *Gulliver's Travels.* He married Hester Johnson (Stella) and buried Esther Vanhomrigh (Vanessa) who had followed him to Ireland from London, where she had contracted a violent passion for him. In 1726 and 1727 Swift was in England, which he quitted for the last time on hearing of his wife's illness. Stella died in January, 1728, and Swift not until 1745, having passed the last five of the seventy-eight years of his life with an impaired intellect and keepers to watch him.[2]

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[1] 'Miss Hetty' she was called in the family—where her face, and her dress, and Sir William's treatment of her, all made the real fact about her birth plain enough. Sir William left her a thousand pounds.

[2] Sometimes, during his mental affliction, he continued walking about the house for many consecutive hours; sometimes he remained in a kind of torpor. At times, he would seem to struggle to bring into distinct consciousness, and shape into expression, the intellect that lay smothering under gloomy obstruction in him. A pier-glass, falling by accident, nearly fell on him. He said, he wished it had! He once repeated, slowly, several times, 'I am what I am.' The last thing he wrote was

You know, of course, that Swift has had many biographers; his life has been told by the kindest and most good-natured of men, Scott, who admires but can't bring himself to love him; and by stout old Johnson,[1] who, forced to admit him into the company of poets, receives the famous Irishman, and takes off his hat to him with a bow of surly recognition, scans him from head to foot, and passes over to the other side of the street. Dr. Wilde, of Dublin,[2] who has written

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an epigram on the building of a magazine for arms and stores, which was pointed out to him as he went abroad during his mental disease:—

> Behold a proof of Irish sense:
> Here Irish wit is seen;
> When nothing's left that's worth defence,
> We build a magazine!

[1] Besides these famous books of Scott's and Johnson's, there is a copious *Life* by Thomas Sheridan (Dr. Johnson's 'Sherry'), father of Richard Brinsley, and son of that good-natured, clever, Irish Doctor, Thomas Sheridan, Swift's intimate, who lost his chaplaincy by so unluckily choosing for a text on the king's birthday, 'Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof!' Not to mention less important works, there is also the *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, by that polite and dignified writer, the Earl of Orrery. His lordship is said to have striven for literary renown, chiefly that he might make up for the slight passed on him by his father, who left his library away from him. It is to be feared that the ink he used to wash out that stain only made it look bigger. He had, however, known Swift, and corresponded with people who knew him. His work (which appeared in 1752) provoked a good deal of controversy, calling out, among other brochures, the interesting *Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks*, &c., of Dr. Delany.

[2] Dr. Wilde's book was written on the occasion of the remains of Swift and Stella being brought to the light of day—a thing which happened in 1835, when certain works going on in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, afforded an opportunity of their being examined. One hears with surprise of these skulls 'going the rounds' of houses, and being made the objects of *dilettante* curiosity. The larynx of Swift was actually carried off! Phrenologists had a low opinion of his intellect, from the observations they took.

Dr. Wilde traces the symptoms of ill-health in Swift, as detailed in his writings from time to time. He observes, likewise, that

a most interesting volume on the closing years of Swift's life, calls Johnson 'the most malignant of his biographers': it is not easy for an English critic to please Irishmen—perhaps to try and please them. And yet Johnson truly admires Swift: Johnson does not quarrel with Swift's change of politics, or doubt his sincerity of religion: about the famous Stella and Vanessa controversy the Doctor does not bear very hardly on Swift. But he could not give the Dean that honest hand of his; the stout old man puts it into his breast, and moves off from him.[1]

Would we have liked to live with him? That is a question which, in dealing with these people's works, and thinking of their lives and peculiarities, every reader of biographies must put to himself. Would you have liked to be a friend of the great Dean? I should like to have been Shakespeare's shoeblack—just to have lived in his house, just to have worshipped him—to have run on his errands, and seen that sweet serene face. I should like, as a young man, to have lived on Fielding's staircase in the Temple, and after helping him up to bed perhaps, and opening his door with his latch-key, to have shaken hands with him in the morning, and heard him talk and crack jokes over his breakfast and his mug of small beer. Who would not give something to pass a night at the club with Johnson, and Goldsmith, and James Boswell, Esq., of Auchinleck? The charm of Addison's companionship and conversation has passed to us by fond tradition—but Swift? If you had been his inferior in parts (and that, with a great respect for all persons present, I fear is only very likely), his equal in mere social station, he would have bullied, scorned, and insulted you; if, undeterred by his great reputation, you had met him

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the skull gave evidence of 'diseased action' of the brain during life—such as would be produced by an increasing tendency to 'cerebral congestion'.

[1] 'He [Dr. Johnson] seemed to me to have an unaccountable prejudice against Swift; for I once took the liberty to ask him if Swift had personally offended him, and he told me he had not.'—BOSWELL'S *Tour to the Hebrides.* [August 16.]

like a man, he would have quailed before you,[1] and not had the pluck to reply, and gone home, and years after written a foul epigram about you—watched for you in a sewer, and come out to assail you with a coward's blow and a dirty bludgeon. If you had been a lord with a blue ribbon, who flattered his vanity, or could help his ambition, he would have been the most delightful company in the world. He would have been so manly, so sarcastic, so bright, odd, and original, that you might think he had no object in view but the indulgence of his humour, and that he was the most reckless, simple creature in the world. How he would have torn your enemies to pieces for you! and made fun of the Opposition! His servility was so boisterous that it looked like independence;[2] he

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[1] Few men, to be sure, dared this experiment, but yet their success was encouraging. One gentleman made a point of asking the Dean, whether his uncle Godwin had not given him his education. Swift, who hated *that* subject cordially, and, indeed, cared little for his kindred, said, sternly, 'Yes; he gave me the education of a dog.' 'Then, sir,' cried the other, striking his fist on the table, 'you have not the gratitude of a dog!'

Other occasions there were when a bold face gave the Dean pause, even after his Irish almost-royal position was established. But he brought himself into greater danger on a certain occasion, and the amusing circumstances may be once more repeated here. He had unsparingly lashed the notable Dublin lawyer, Mr. Serjeant Bettesworth—

> Thus, at the bar, the booby Bettesworth,
> Though half-a-crown o'er-pays his sweat's worth,
> Who knows in law nor text nor margent,
> Calls Singleton his brother-serjeant!

The Serjeant, it is said, swore to have his life. He presented himself at the deanery. The Dean asked his name. 'Sir, I am Serjeant Bett-es-worth.'

'*In what regiment, pray?*' asked Swift.

A guard of volunteers formed themselves to defend the Dean at this time.

[2] 'But, my Hamilton, I will never hide the freedom of my sentiments from you. I am much inclined to believe that the temper of my friend Swift might occasion his English friends to wish him happily and properly promoted at a distance. His spirit, for I would give it the softest name, was ever untractable. The motions of his genius were often irregular. He assumed

would have done your errands, but with the air of patronizing you, and after fighting your battles masked in the street or the press, would have kept on his hat before your wife and daughters in the drawing-room, content to take that sort of pay for his tremendous services as a bravo.[1]

He says as much himself in one of his letters to Bolingbroke :—'All my endeavours . . . to distinguish myself were only for want of a great title and fortune, that I might be used like a lord by those who have an opinion of my parts ; whether right or wrong, it is no great matter. And so the reputation of wit or great learning does the office of a blue ribbon or of a coach and six horses.'[2]

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more the air of a patron than of a friend. He affected rather to dictate than advise.'—ORRERY. [*Remarks on the Life*, &c., Letter iv.]

[1] '. . . . An anecdote which, though told by Mrs. Pilkington, is well attested, bears, that the last time he was in London he went to dine with the Earl of Burlington, who was then but newly married. The earl, being willing, it is supposed, to have some diversion, did not introduce him to his lady nor mention his name. After dinner said the Dean, "Lady Burlington, I hear you can sing ; sing me a song." The lady looked on this unceremonious manner of asking a favour with distaste, and positively refused. He said, "She should sing, or he would make her. Why, madam, I suppose you take me for one of your poor English hedge-parsons ; sing when I bid you." As the earl did nothing but laugh at this freedom, the lady was so vexed that she burst into tears and retired. His first compliment to her when he saw her again was, "Pray, madam, are you as proud and as ill-natured now as when I saw you last ?" To which she answered with great humour, "No, Mr. Dean ; I'll sing for you if you please." From which time he conceived great esteem for her.'—SCOTT'S *Life*. [Conclusion, p. 470 (1824).] '. . . . He had not the least tincture of vanity in his conversation. He was, perhaps, as he said himself, too proud to be vain. When he was polite, it was in a manner entirely his own. In his friendships he was constant and undisguised. He was the same in his enmities.'—ORRERY. [*Remarks*, &c., Letter xix.]

[2] 'I make no figure but at Court, where I affect to turn from a lord to the meanest of my acquaintance.'—*Journal to Stella*. [Dec. 12, 1712.]

'I am plagued with bad authors, verse and prose, who send

Could there be a greater candour? It is an outlaw, who says, 'These are my brains; with these I'll win titles and compete with fortune. These are my bullets; these I'll turn into gold'; and he hears the sound of coaches-and-six, takes the road like Macheath, and makes society stand and deliver. They are all on their knees before him. Down go my lord bishop's apron, and his Grace's blue ribbon, and my lady's brocade petticoat in the mud. He eases the one of a living, the other of a patent place, the third of a little snug post about the Court, and gives them over to followers of his own. The great prize has not come yet. The coach with the mitre and crosier in it, which he intends to have for *his* share, has been delayed on the way from St. James's; and he waits and waits until nightfall, when his runners come and tell him that the coach has taken a different road, and escaped him. So he fires his pistols into the air with a curse, and rides away into his own country.[1]

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me their books and poems, the vilest trash I ever saw; but I have given their names to my man, never to let them see me.'—*Journal to Stella.* [Jan. 7, 1712-13.]

The following curious paragraph illustrates the life of a courtier:—

'Did I ever tell you that Lord Treasurer hears ill with the left ear just as I do? . . . . I dare not tell him that I am so, too; *for fear he should think I counterfeited to make my court!*'—*Journal to Stella.* [Sept. 7, 1711.]

[1] The war of pamphlets was carried on fiercely on one side and the other; and the Whig attacks made the ministry Swift served very sore. Bolingbroke laid hold of several of the Opposition pamphleteers, and bewails their 'factiousness' in the following letter:—

'BOLINGBROKE TO THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

'Whitehall, July 23rd, 1712.

'It is a melancholy consideration that the laws of our country are too weak to punish effectually those factious scribblers, who presume to blacken the brightest characters, and to give even scurrilous language to those who are in the first degrees of honour. This, my lord, among others, is a symptom of the decayed condition of our Government, and serves to show how fatally we mistake licentiousness for liberty. All I could do was to take up Hurt, the printer, to send him to Newgate, and to bind him over upon bail to be prosecuted; this I have done;

Swift's seems to me to be as good a name to point a moral or adorn a tale of ambition, as any hero's that

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and if I can arrive at legal proof against the author Ridpath, he shall have the same treatment.'

Swift was not behind his illustrious friend in this virtuous indignation. In the *History of the Four last Years of the Queen*, the Dean speaks in the most edifying manner of the licentiousness of the press and the abusive language of the other party:

'It must be acknowledged that the bad practices of printers have been such as to deserve the severest animadversions of the public. . . . The adverse party, full of rage and leisure since their fall, and unanimous in defence of their cause, employ a set of writers by subscription, who are well versed in all the topics of defamation, and have a style and genius levelled to the generality of readers. . . . However, the mischiefs of the press were too exorbitant to be cured by such a remedy as a tax upon the smaller papers; and a bill for a much more effectual regulation of it was brought into the House of Commons, but so late in the session that there was no time to pass it, for there has hitherto always appeared an unwillingness to cramp overmuch the liberty of the press.'

But to a clause in the proposed bill, that the names of authors should be set to every printed book, pamphlet, or paper, his reverence objects altogether, for, says he, 'beside the objection to this clause from the practice of pious men, who, in publishing excellent writings for the service of religion, have chosen, *out of an humble Christian spirit, to conceal their names*, it is certain that all persons of true genius or knowledge have an invincible modesty and suspicion of themselves upon their first sending their thoughts into the world.' [Book III, Scott's ed. vol. v, p. 149 (1824).]

This 'invincible modesty' was no doubt the sole reason which induced the Dean to keep the secret of the *Drapier's Letters* and a hundred humble Christian works of which he was the author. As for the Opposition, the Doctor was for dealing severely with them: he writes to Stella:—

JOURNAL. LETTER XIX.

'London, March 25th, 1710-11.

'. . . We have let Guiscard be buried at last, after showing him pickled in a trough this fortnight for twopence a piece; and the fellow that showed would point to his body and [say], "See, gentlemen, this is the wound that was given him by his Grace the Duke of Ormond;" and, "This is the wound," &c.; and then the show was over, and another set of rabble came in. 'Tis hard that our laws would not suffer us to hang his body in

ever lived and failed. But we must remember that the morality was lax—that other gentlemen besides himself took the road in his day—that public society was in a strange disordered condition, and the State was ravaged by other condottieri. The Boyne was being fought and won, and lost—the bells rung in William's victory, in the very same tone with which they would have pealed for James's. Men were loose upon politics, and had to shift for themselves. They, as well as old beliefs and institutions, had lost their moorings and gone adrift in the storm. As in the South Sea Bubble almost everybody gambled ; as in the Railway mania—not many centuries ago—almost every one took his unlucky share ; a man of that time, of the vast talents and ambition of Swift, could scarce do otherwise than grasp at his prize, and make his spring at his opportunity. His bitterness, his scorn, his rage, his subsequent misanthropy, are ascribed by some panegyrists to a deliberate conviction of mankind's unworthiness, and a desire to amend them by castigating. His youth was bitter, as that of a great genius bound down by ignoble ties, and powerless in a mean dependence ; his age was bitter,[1] like that of a great genius that had fought the battle and nearly won it, and lost it, and thought of it afterwards writhing in a lonely exile. A man may attribute to the gods, if he likes, what is caused by his own fury, or disappointment, or self-will. What public man—what statesman

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chains, because he was not tried ; and in the eye of our law every man is innocent till then.' . . . . . .

JOURNAL. LETTER XXVII.

'London, July 25th, 1711.

'I was this afternoon with Mr. Secretary at his office, and helped to hinder a man of his pardon, who is condemned for a rape. The Under-Secretary was willing to save him ; . . . but I told the Secretary he could not pardon him without a favourable report from the judge ; besides he was a fiddler, and consequently a rogue, and deserved hanging for something else, and so he shall swing.'

[1] It was his constant practice to keep his birthday as a day of mourning.

projecting a *coup*—what king determined on an invasion of his neighbour—what satirist meditating an onslaught on society or an individual, can't give a pretext for his move ? There was a French general the other day who proposed to march into this country and put it to sack and pillage, in revenge for humanity outraged by our conduct at Copenhagen—there is always some excuse for men of the aggressive turn. They are of their nature warlike, predatory, eager for fight, plunder, dominion.[1] As fierce a beak and talon as ever struck—as strong a wing as ever beat, belonged to Swift. I am glad, for one, that fate wrested the prey out of his claws, and cut his wings and chained him. One can gaze, and not without awe and pity, at the lonely eagle chained behind the bars.

That Swift was born at No. 7, Hoey's Court, Dublin, on the 30th November, 1667, is a certain fact, of which nobody will deny the sister island the honour and glory ; but, it seems to me, he was no more an Irishman than a man born of English parents at Calcutta is a Hindoo.[2]

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[1] 'These devils of Grub Street rogues, that write the *Flying-Post* and *Medley* in one paper, will not be quiet. They are always mauling Lord Treasurer, Lord Bolingbroke, and me. We have the dog under prosecution, but Bolingbroke is not active enough ; but I hope to swinge him. He is a Scotch rogue, one Ridpath. They get out upon bail, and write on. We take them again, and get fresh bail ; so it goes round.'—*Journal to Stella.* [Oct. 28, 1712.]

[2] Swift was by no means inclined to forget such considerations ; and his English birth makes its mark, strikingly enough, every now and then in his writings. Thus in a letter to Pope [July 23, 1737] (SCOTT'S *Swift*, vol. xix, p. 97), he says :—

'We have had your volume of letters . . . Some of those who highly esteem you, and a few who know you personally, are grieved to find you make no distinction between the English gentry of this kingdom, and the savage old Irish (who are only the vulgar, and some gentlemen who live in the Irish parts of the kingdom) ; but the English colonies, who are three parts in four, are much more civilized than many counties in England, and speak better English, and are much better bred.'

And again, in the fourth *Drapier's Letter*, we have the following :—

'A short paper, printed at Bristol, and reprinted here, reports

Goldsmith was an Irishman, and always an Irishman: Steele was an Irishman, and always an Irishman: Swift's heart was English and in England, his habits English, his logic eminently English; his statement is elaborately simple; he shuns tropes and metaphors, and uses his ideas and words with a wise thrift and economy, as he used his money; with which he could be generous and splendid upon great occasions, but which he husbanded when there was no need to spend it. He never indulges in needless extravagance of rhetoric, lavish epithets, profuse imagery. He lays his opinion before you with a grave simplicity and a perfect neatness.[1] Dreading

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Mr. Wood to say "that he wonders at the impudence and insolence of the Irish, in refusing his coin." . . . Where, by the way, he is mistaken; for it is the true English people of Ireland who refuse it, although we take it for granted that the Irish will do so too whenever they are asked.'—SCOTT'S *Swift*, vol. vi, p. 453.

He goes further, in a good-humoured satirical paper, *On Barbarous Denominations in Ireland*, where (after abusing, as he was wont, the Scotch cadence, as well as expression), he advances to the '*Irish brogue*', and speaking of the 'censure' which it brings down, says:—

'And what is yet worse, it is too well known that the bad consequence of this opinion affects those among us who are not the least liable to such reproaches, farther than the misfortune of being born in Ireland, although of English parents, and whose education has been chiefly in that kingdom.'—Ibid. vol. vii, p. 148.

But, indeed, if we are to make *anything* of Race at all, we must call that man an Englishman whose father comes from an old Yorkshire family, and his mother from an old Leicestershire one!

[1] 'The style of his conversation was very much of a piece with that of his writings, concise and clear and strong. Being one day at a sheriff's feast, who among other toasts called out to him, "Mr. Dean, The trade of Ireland!" he answered quick: "Sir, I drink no memories!" . . .

'Happening to be in company with a petulant young man who prided himself in saying pert things . . . and who cried out, "You must know, Mr. Dean, that I set up for a wit!" "Do you so?" says the Dean. "Then take my advice, and sit down again!"

'At another time, being in a company, where a lady whisking about her long train (long trains were then in fashion) swept down a fine fiddle and broke it; Swift cried out—

Mantua vae miserae nimium vicina Cremonae!'

—DR. DELANY, *Observations upon Lord Orrery's 'Remarks, &c. of Swift'*. London, 1754. [Letter xvi.]

ridicule too, as a man of his humour—above all an Englishman of his humour—certainly would, he is afraid to use the poetical power which he really possesses; one often fancies in reading him that he dares not be eloquent when he might; that he does not speak above his voice, as it were, and the tone of society.

His initiation into politics, his knowledge of business, his knowledge of polite life, his acquaintance with literature even, which he could not have pursued very sedulously during that reckless career at Dublin, Swift got under the roof of Sir William Temple. He was fond of telling in after-life what quantities of books he devoured there, and how King William taught him to cut asparagus in the Dutch fashion. It was at Shene and at Moor Park, with a salary of twenty pounds and a dinner at the upper servants' table, that this great and lonely Swift passed a ten years' apprenticeship—wore a cassock that was only not a livery—bent down a knee as proud as Lucifer's to supplicate my lady's good graces, or run on his honour's errands.[1] It was here, as he was writing at Temple's table, or following his patron's walk, that he saw and heard the men who had governed the great world—measured himself with them, looking up from his silent corner, gauged their brains, weighed their wits, turned them, and tried them, and marked them. Ah, what platitudes he must have heard! what feeble jokes! what pompous commonplaces! what small men they must have seemed under their enormous periwigs, to the swarthy, uncouth, silent Irish secretary. I wonder whether it ever struck Temple that that Irishman was his master? I suppose that dismal conviction did not present itself under the ambrosial wig, or Temple could never have lived with Swift. Swift sickened, rebelled, left the service—ate humble pie and came back again; and so for ten years went on, gathering learning, swallow-

[1] 'Don't you remember how I used to be in pain when Sir William Temple would look cold and out of humour for three or four days, and I used to suspect a hundred reasons? I have plucked up my spirit since then, faith; he spoiled a fine gentleman.'—*Journal to Stella.* [Apr. 4, 1711.]

ing scorn, and submitting with a stealthy rage to his fortune.

Temple's style is the perfection of practised and easy good-breeding. If he does not penetrate very deeply into a subject, he professes a very gentlemanly acquaintance with it; if he makes rather a parade of Latin, it was the custom of his day, as it was the custom for a gentleman to envelop his head in a periwig and his hands in lace ruffles. If he wears buckles and square-toed shoes, he steps in them with a consummate grace, and you never hear their creak, or find them treading upon any lady's train or any rival's heels in the Court crowd. When that grows too hot or too agitated for him, he politely leaves it. He retires to his retreat of Shene or Moor Park; and lets the King's party, and the Prince of Orange's party battle it out among themselves. He reveres the Sovereign (and no man perhaps ever testified to his loyalty by so elegant a bow); he admires the Prince of Orange; but there is one person whose ease and comfort he loves more than all the princes in Christendom, and that valuable member of society is himself, Gulielmus Temple, Baronettus. One sees him in his retreat; between his study-chair and his tulip-beds,[1] clipping his apricots and

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[1] '. . . The Epicureans were more intelligible in their notion, and fortunate in their expression, when they placed a man's happiness in the tranquillity of mind and indolence of body; for while we are composed of both, I doubt both must have a share in the good or ill we feel. As men of several languages say the same things in very different words, so in several ages, countries, constitutions of laws and religion, the same thing seems to be meant by very different expressions; what is called by the Stoics apathy, or dispassion; by the sceptics, indisturbance; by the Molinists, quietism; by common men, peace of conscience,—seems all to mean but great tranquillity of mind. . . . For this reason Epicurus passed his life wholly in his garden: there he studied, there he exercised, there he taught his philosophy; and, indeed, no other sort of abode seems to contribute so much to both the tranquillity of mind and indolence of body, which he made his chief ends. The sweetness of air, the pleasantness of smell, the verdure of plants, the cleanness and lightness of food, the exercises of working or walking; but, above all, the exemption from cares and solicitude, seem equally to favour

pruning his essays,—the statesman, the ambassador no more; but the philosopher, the Epicurean, the fine gentleman and courtier at St. James's as at Shene; where, in place of kings and fair ladies, he pays his court to the Ciceronian majesty; or walks a minuet with the Epic Muse; or dallies by the south wall with the ruddy nymph of gardens.

Temple seems to have received and exacted a prodigious deal of veneration from his household, and to have been coaxed, and warmed, and cuddled by the people round about him, as delicately as any of the plants which he loved. When he fell ill in 1693, the household was aghast at his indisposition; mild Dorothea, his wife, the best companion of the best of men—

> Mild Dorothea, peaceful, wise, and great,
> Trembling beheld the doubtful hand of fate.

As for Dorinda, his sister,—

> You that would grief describe, come here and trace
> Its watery footsteps in Dorinda's face.
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> . . . . . .

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and improve both contemplation and health, the enjoyment of sense and imagination, and thereby the quiet and ease both of the body and mind. . . . Where Paradise was has been much debated, and little agreed; but what sort of place is meant by it may perhaps easier be conjectured. It seems to have been a Persian word, since Xenophon and other Greek authors mention it as what was much in use and delight among the kings of those eastern countries. Strabo describing Jericho, says: "Ibi est palmetum, cui immixtae sunt etiam aliae stirpes hortenses, locus ferax palmis abundans, spatio stadiorum centum totus irriguus: ibi est regia et Balsami paradisus." '—*Essay on the Gardens of Epicurus.* [p. 189 (1754), Edinburgh.]

In the same famous essay Temple speaks of a friend, whose conduct and prudence he characteristically admires:—

'. . . I thought it very prudent in a gentleman of my friends in Staffordshire, who is a great lover of his garden, to pretend no higher, though his soil be good enough, than to the perfection of plums; and in these (by bestowing south walls upon them) he has very well succeeded, which he could never have done in attempts upon peaches and grapes; and *a good plum is certainly better than an ill peach.*' [*Ib.* p. 209.]

Thus when Dorinda wept, joy every face forsook,
And grief flung sables on each menial look.
The humble tribe mourned for the quickening soul,
That furnished spirit and motion through the whole.

Isn't that line in which grief is described as putting the menials into a mourning livery, a fine image ? One of the menials wrote it, who did not like that Temple livery nor those twenty-pound wages. Cannot one fancy the uncouth young servitor, with downcast eyes, books and papers in hand, following at his Honour's heels in the garden walk ; or taking his Honour's orders as he stands by the great chair, where Sir William has the gout, and his feet all blistered with moxa ? When Sir William has the gout or scolds it must be hard work at the second table ;[1] the Irish secretary owned as much afterwards :

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[1] Swift's Thoughts on Hanging.

(*Directions to Servants.*)

'To grow old in the office of a footman is the highest of all indignities ; therefore, when you find years coming on without hopes of a place at Court, a command in the army, a succession to the stewardship, an employment in the revenue (which two last you cannot obtain without reading and writing), or running away with your master's niece or daughter, I directly advise you to go upon the road, which is the only post of honour left you : there you will meet many of your old comrades, and live a short life and a merry one, and make a figure at your exit, wherein I will give you some instructions.

'The last advice I give you relates to your behaviour when you are going to be hanged ; which, either for robbing your master, for housebreaking, or going upon the highway, or in a drunken quarrel by killing the first man you meet, may very probably be your lot, and is owing to one of these three qualities : either a love of good fellowship, a generosity of mind, or too much vivacity of spirits. Your good behaviour on this article will concern your whole community : deny the fact with all solemnity of imprecations : a hundred of your brethren, if they can be admitted, will attend about the bar, and be ready upon demand to give you a character before the Court ; let nothing prevail on you to confess, but the promise of a pardon for discovering your comrades : but I suppose all this to be in vain ; for if you escape now, your fate will be the same another day. Get a speech to be written by the best author of Newgate :

and when he came to dinner, how he must have lashed and growled and torn the household with his gibes and scorn! What would the steward say about the pride of them Irish schollards—and this one had got no great credit even at his Irish college, if the truth were known—and what a contempt his Excellency's own gentleman must have had for Parson Teague from Dublin. (The valets and chaplains were always at war. It is hard to say which Swift thought the more contemptible.) And what must have been the sadness, the sadness and terror, of the housekeeper's little daughter with the curling black ringlets and the sweet smiling face, when the secretary who teaches her to read and write, and whom she loves and reverences above all things—above mother, above mild Dorothea, above that tremendous Sir William in his square-toes and periwig,—when *Mr. Swift* comes down from his master with rage in his heart, and has not a kind word even for little Hester Johnson?

Perhaps, for the Irish secretary, his Excellency's condescension was even more cruel than his frowns. Sir William *would* perpetually quote Latin and the ancient classics *à propos* of his gardens and his Dutch statues and *plates-bandes*, and talk about Epicurus and Diogenes Laertius, Julius Caesar, Semiramis, and the gardens of the Hesperides, Maecenas, Strabo describing Jericho, and the Assyrian kings. *À propos* of beans, he would mention Pythagoras's precept to abstain from beans, and that this precept probably meant that wise men should abstain from public affairs. *He* is a placid Epicurean;

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some of your kind wenches will provide you with a holland shirt and white cap, crowned with a crimson or black ribbon: take leave cheerfully of all your friends in Newgate: mount the cart with courage; fall on your knees; lift up your eyes; hold a book in your hands, although you cannot read a word; deny the fact at the gallows; kiss and forgive the hangman, and so farewell; you shall be buried in pomp at the charge of the fraternity: the surgeon shall not touch a limb of you; and your fame shall continue until a successor of equal renown succeeds in your place. . . .' [Chap. iii.]

he is a Pythagorean philosopher; *he* is a wise man—that is the deduction. Does not Swift think so? One can imagine the downcast eyes lifted up for a moment, and the flash of scorn which they emit. Swift's eyes were as azure as the heavens; Pope says nobly (as everything Pope said and thought of his friend was good and noble), 'His eyes are as azure as the heavens, and have a charming archness in them.' And one person in that household, that pompous, stately, kindly Moor Park, saw heaven nowhere else.

But the Temple amenities and solemnities did not agree with Swift. He was half-killed with a surfeit of Shene pippins; and in a garden-seat which he devised for himself at Moor Park, and where he devoured greedily the stock of books within his reach, he caught a vertigo and deafness which punished and tormented him through life. He could not bear the place or the servitude. Even in that poem of courtly condolence, from which we have quoted a few lines of mock melancholy, he breaks out of the funereal procession with a mad shriek, as it were, and rushes away crying his own grief, cursing his own fate, foreboding madness, and forsaken by fortune, and even hope.

I don't know anything more melancholy than the letter to Temple, in which, after having broke from his bondage, the poor wretch crouches piteously towards his cage again, and deprecates his master's anger. He asks for testimonials for orders. 'The particulars expected of me are what relate to morals and learning—and the reasons of quitting your Honour's family—that is, whether the last was occasioned by any ill actions. They are all left entirely to your Honour's mercy, though in the first I think I cannot reproach myself any farther than for *infirmities*. This is all I dare beg at present from your Honour, under circumstances of life not worth your regard: what is left me to wish (next to the health and prosperity of your Honour and family) is that Heaven would one day allow me the opportunity of leaving my acknowledgements at your feet . . . I beg my most humble duty and service be presented to my

ladies, your Honour's lady and sister.' Can prostration fall deeper? Could a slave bow lower?[1]

Twenty years afterwards, Bishop Kennet, describing the same man, says, 'Dr. Swift came into the coffee-house and had a bow from everybody but me. When I came to the antechamber [at Court] to wait before prayers Dr. Swift was the principal man of talk and business. . . . He was soliciting the Earl of Arran to speak to his brother, the Duke of Ormond, to get a . . . place . . . for . . . a clergyman. . . . He was promising Mr. Thorold to undertake, with my Lord Treasurer, that . . . he should obtain a salary of 200*l.* per annum as minister of the

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[1] 'He continued in Sir William Temple's house till the death of that great man.'—*Anecdotes of the Family of Swift*, by the Dean. [Scott, vol. i, p. 511.]

'It has since pleased God to take this great and good person to himself.'—Preface to *Temple's Letters* [1700].

On all *public* occasions, Swift speaks of Sir William in the same tone. But the reader will better understand how acutely he remembered the indignities he suffered in his household, from the subjoined extracts from the *Journal to Stella* :—

'I called at Mr. Secretary to see what the d—— ailed him on Sunday: I made him a very proper speech; told him I observed he was much out of temper, that I did not expect he would tell me the cause, but would be glad to see he was in better; and one thing I warned him of—never to appear cold to me, for I would not be treated like a schoolboy; that I had felt too much of that in my life already (meaning Sir William Temple),' &c. &c.—*Journal to Stella.* [Ap. 3, 1711.]

'I am thinking what a veneration we used to have for Sir William Temple because he might have been Secretary of State at fifty; and here is a young fellow hardly thirty in that employment.'—*Ibid.* [Nov. 11, 1710.]

'The Secretary is as easy with me as Mr. Addison was. I have often thought what a splutter Sir William Temple makes about being Secretary of State.'—*Ibid.* [Nov. 3, 1711.]

'Lord Treasurer has had an ugly fit of the rheumatism, but is now near quite well. I was playing at *one-and-thirty* with him and his family the other night. He gave us all twelvepence a piece to begin with; it put me in mind of Sir William Temple.'—*Ibid.* [Oct. 9, 1712.]

'I thought I saw Jack Temple [*nephew to Sir William*] and his wife pass by me to-day in their coach; but I took no notice of them. I am glad I have wholly shaken off that family.'—*Ibid., Sept.* [9], 1710.

English Church at Rotterdam. He stopped F. Gwynne, Esq., going in with the red bag to the Queen, and told him aloud, he had something to say to him from my Lord Treasurer. He . . . took out his gold watch, and telling . . . the time of the day, complained it was very late. A gentleman said he was too fast. "How can I help it," says the doctor, "if the courtiers give me a watch that won't go right?" Then he instructed a young nobleman, that the best poet in England was Mr. Pope (a Papist), who had begun a translation of Homer into English verse, for which he must have them all subscribe; "For," says he, "the author shall not begin to print till I have a thousand guineas for him."[1] Lord Treasurer, after leaving the Queen, came through the room, beckoning Dr. Swift to follow him,—both went off just before prayers.' There 's a little malice in the Bishop's 'just before prayers.'

This picture of the great Dean seems a true one, and is harsh, though not altogether unpleasant. He was doing good, and to deserving men too, in the midst of these intrigues and triumphs. His journals and a thousand anecdotes of him relate his kind acts and rough manners. His hand was constantly stretched out to relieve an honest man—he was cautious about his money, but ready.—If you were in a strait would you like such a benefactor? I think I would rather have had a potato and a friendly word from Goldsmith than have been beholden to the Dean for a guinea and a dinner.[2] He

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[1] 'Swift must be confessed,' says Dr. Johnson, 'to have dictated for a time the political opinions of the English nation.'— [*Life of Swift*, p. 411 (1790).]

A conversation on the Dean's pamphlets excited one of the Doctor's liveliest sallies. 'One, in particular, praised his *Conduct of the Allies*.—Johnson: "Sir, his *Conduct of the Allies* is a performance of very little ability. . . . Why, sir, Tom Davies might have written the *Conduct of the Allies!*" '—Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. [anno 1768.]

[2] 'Whenever he fell into the company of any person for the first time, it was his custom to try their tempers and disposition by some abrupt question that bore the appearance of rudeness. If this were well taken, and answered with good humour, he

insulted a man as he served him, made women cry, guests look foolish, bullied unlucky friends, and flung his benefactions into poor men's faces. No; the Dean was no Irishman—no Irishman ever gave but with a kind word and a kind heart.

It is told, as if it were to Swift's credit, that the Dean of St. Patrick's performed his family devotions every morning regularly, but with such secrecy, that the guests in his house were never in the least aware of the ceremony. There was no need surely why a church dignitary should assemble his family privily in a crypt, and as if he was afraid of heathen persecution. But I think the world was right, and the bishops who advised Queen Anne, when they counselled her not to appoint the author of the *Tale of a Tub* to a bishopric, gave perfectly good advice. The man who wrote the arguments and illustrations in that wild book, could not but be aware what must be the sequel of the propositions which he laid down. The boon companion of Pope and Bolingbroke, who chose these as the friends of his life, and the recipients of his confidence and affection, must have heard many an argument, and joined in many a conversation over Pope's port, or St. John's burgundy, which would not bear to be repeated at other men's boards.

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afterwards made amends by his civilities. But if he saw any marks of resentment, from alarmed pride, vanity, or conceit, he dropped all farther intercourse with the party. This will be illustrated by an anecdote of that sort related by Mrs. Pilkington. After supper, the Dean having decanted a bottle of wine, poured what remained into a glass, and seeing it was muddy, presented it to Mr. Pilkington to drink it. "For," said he, "I always keep some poor parson to drink the foul wine for me." Mr. Pilkington, entering into his humour, thanked him, and told him "he did not know the difference, but was glad to get a glass at any rate." "Why then," said the Dean, "you shan't, for I'll drink it myself. Why, —— take you, you are wiser than a paltry curate whom I asked to dine with me a few days ago; for upon my making the same speech to him, he said, he did not understand such usage, and so walked off without his dinner. By the same token, I told the gentleman who recommended him to me, that the fellow was a blockhead, and I had done with him." '—SHERIDAN'S *Life of Swift.* [Section vii, p. 409 (1784).]

I know of few things more conclusive as to the sincerity of Swift's religion than his advice to poor John Gay to turn clergyman, and look out for a seat on the Bench. Gay, the author of *The Beggar's Opera*—Gay, the wildest of the wits about town—it was this man that Jonathan Swift advised to take orders—to invest in a cassock and bands—just as he advised him to husband his shillings and put his thousand pounds out at interest.[1] The

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[1] FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHELL.

'Cashell, May 31st, 1735.

'DEAR SIR,—

'I have been so unfortunate in all my contests of late, that I am resolved to have no more, especially where I am likely to be overmatched; and as I have some reason to hope what is past will be forgotten, I confess I did endeavour in my last to put the best colour I could think of upon a very bad cause. My friends judge right of my idleness; but, in reality, it has hitherto proceeded from a hurry and confusion, arising from a thousand unlucky unforeseen accidents rather than mere sloth. I have but one troublesome affair now upon my hands, which, by the help of the prime serjeant, I hope soon to get rid of; and then you shall see me a true Irish bishop. Sir James Ware has made a very useful collection of the memorable actions of all my predecessors. He tells us, they were born in such a town of England or Ireland; were consecrated such a year; and, if not translated, were buried in their Cathedral church, either on the north or south side. Whence I conclude, that a good bishop has nothing more to do than to eat, drink, grow fat, rich, and die; which laudable example I propose for the remainder of my life to follow; for, to tell you the truth, I have for these four or five years past met with so much treachery, baseness, and ingratitude among mankind, that I can hardly think it incumbent upon any man to endeavour to do good to so perverse a generation.

'I am truly concerned at the account you give me of your health. Without doubt a southern ramble will prove the best remedy you can take to recover your flesh; and I do not know, except in one stage, where you can choose a road so suited to your circumstances, as from Dublin hither. You have to Kilkenny a turnpike and good inns at every ten or twelve miles' end. From Kilkenny hither is twenty long miles, bad road, and no inn at all: but I have an expedient for you. At the foot of a very high hill, just midway, there lives in a neat thatched cabin, a parson, who is not poor; his wife is allowed to be the

Queen, and the bishops, and the world, were right in mistrusting the religion of that man.

I am not here, of course, to speak of any man's religious views, except in so far as they influence his literary character, his life, his humour. The most notorious sinners of all those fellow mortals whom it is our business to discuss—Harry Fielding and Dick Steele—were especially loud, and I believe really fervent, in their expressions of belief; they belaboured freethinkers, and stoned imaginary atheists on all sorts of occasions, going out of their way to bawl their own creed, and persecute their neighbour's, and if they sinned and stumbled, as they constantly did with debt, with drink, with all sorts of bad behaviour, they got up on their knees, and cried 'Peccavi' with a most sonorous orthodoxy. Yes; poor Harry Fielding and poor Dick Steele were trusty and undoubting Church of England men; they abhorred Popery, atheism, and wooden shoes, and idolatries in general; and hiccupped 'Church and State' with fervour.

But Swift? *His* mind had had a different schooling, and possessed a very different logical power. *He* was not

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best little woman in the world. Her chickens are the fattest, and her ale the best in all the country. Besides, the parson has a little cellar of his own, of which he keeps the key, where he always has a hogshead of the best wine that can be got, in bottles well corked, upon their side; and he cleans, and pulls out the cork better, I think, than Robin. Here I design to meet you with a coach; if you be tired, you shall stay all night; if not, after dinner we will set out about four, and be at Cashell by nine; and by going through fields and by-ways, which the parson will show us, we shall escape all the rocky and stony roads that lie between this place and that, which are certainly very bad. I hope you will be so kind as to let me know, a post or two before you set out, the very day you will be at Kilkenny, that I may have all things prepared for you. It may be, if you ask him, Cope will come: he will do nothing for me. Therefore, depending upon your positive promise, I shall add no more arguments to persuade you, and am, with the greatest truth, your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

THEO. CASHELL.'

bred up in a tipsy guard-room, and did not learn to reason in a Covent Garden tavern. He could conduct an argument from beginning to end. He could see forward with a fatal clearness. In his old age, looking at the *Tale of a Tub*, when he said, 'Good God, what a genius I had when I wrote that book!' I think he was admiring not the genius, but the consequences to which the genius had brought him—a vast genius, a magnificent genius, a genius wonderfully bright, and dazzling, and strong,—to seize, to know, to see, to flash upon falsehood and scorch it into perdition, to penetrate into the hidden motives, and expose the black thoughts of men,—an awful, an evil spirit.

Ah, man! you, educated in Epicurean Temple's library, you whose friends were Pope and St. John—what made you to swear to fatal vows, and bind yourself to a lifelong hypocrisy before the Heaven which you adored with such real wonder, humility, and reverence? For Swift's was a reverent, was a pious spirit—for Swift could love and could pray. Through the storms and tempests of his furious mind, the stars of religion and love break out in the blue, shining serenely, though hidden by the driving clouds and the maddened hurricane of his life.

It is my belief that he suffered frightfully from the consciousness of his own scepticism, and that he had bent his pride so far down as to put his apostasy out to hire.[1] The paper left behind him, called *Thoughts on Religion*, is merely a set of excuses for not professing disbelief. He says of his sermons that he preached pamphlets: they have scarce a Christian characteristic; they might be preached from the steps of a synagogue, or the floor of a mosque, or the box of a coffee-house almost. There is little or no cant—he is too great and too proud for that;

[1] 'Mr. Swift lived with him (Sir William Temple) some time, but resolving to settle himself in some way of living, was inclined to take orders. However, although his fortune was very small, he had a scruple of entering into the Church merely for support.'—*Anecdotes of the Family of Swift*, by the Dean. [Scott, vol. i, p. 511.]

and, in so far as the badness of his sermons goes, he is honest. But having put that cassock on, it poisoned him: he was strangled in his bands. He goes through life, tearing, like a man possessed with a devil. Like Abudah in the Arabian story, he is always looking out for the Fury, and knows that the night will come and the inevitable hag with it. What a night, my God, it was! what a lonely rage and long agony—what a vulture that tore the heart of that giant![1] It is awful to think of the great sufferings of this great man. Through life he always seems alone, somehow. Goethe was so. I can't fancy Shakespeare otherwise. The giants must live apart. The kings can have no company. But this man suffered so; and deserved so to suffer. One hardly reads anywhere of such a pain.

The 'saeva indignatio' of which he spoke as lacerating his heart, and which he dares to inscribe on his tombstone —as if the wretch who lay under that stone waiting God's judgement had a right to be angry—breaks out from him in a thousand pages of his writing, and tears and rends him. Against men in office, he having been overthrown; against men in England, he having lost his chance of preferment there, the furious exile never fails to rage and curse. Is it fair to call the famous *Drapier's Letters* patriotism? They are masterpieces of dreadful humour and invective: they are reasoned logically enough too, but the proposition is as monstrous and fabulous as the Lilliputian island. It is not that the grievance is so great, but there is his enemy—the assault is wonderful for its activity and terrible rage. It is Samson, with a bone in his hand, rushing on his enemies and felling them: one admires not the cause so much as the strength, the anger, the fury of the champion. As is the case with madmen, certain subjects provoke him, and awaken his

[1] 'Dr. Swift had a natural severity of face, which even his smiles could scarce soften, or his utmost gaiety render placid and serene; but when that sternness of visage was increased by rage, it is scarce possible to imagine looks or features that carried in them more terror and austerity.'—ORRERY. [*Remarks*, &c., Letter ix.]

fits of wrath. Marriage is one of these; in a hundred passages in his writings he rages against it; rages against children; an object of constant satire, even more contemptible in his eyes than a lord's chaplain, is a poor curate with a large family. The idea of this luckless paternity never fails to bring down from him gibes and foul language. Could Dick Steele, or Goldsmith, or Fielding, in his most reckless moment of satire, have written anything like the Dean's famous 'modest proposal' for eating children? Not one of these but melts at the thoughts of childhood, fondles and caresses it. Mr. Dean has no such softness, and enters the nursery with the tread and gaiety of an ogre.[1] 'I have been assured,' says he in the *Modest Proposal*, 'by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child, well nursed, is, at a year old, a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled; and I make no doubt it will equally serve in a *ragoût*.' And taking up this pretty joke, as his way is, he argues it with perfect gravity and logic. He turns and twists this subject in a score of different ways: he hashes it; and he serves it up cold; and he garnishes it; and relishes it always. He describes the little animal as 'dropped from its dam', advising that the mother should let it suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render it plump and fat for a good table! 'A child,' says his reverence, 'will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish,' and so on; and, the subject being so delightful that he can't leave it—he proceeds to recommend, in place of venison for squires' tables, 'the bodies of young lads and maidens

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[1] 'London, April 10th, 1713.

'Lady Masham's eldest boy is very ill: I doubt he will not live; and she stays at Kensington to nurse him, which vexes us all. She is so excessively fond it makes me mad. She should never leave the Queen, but leave everything, to stick to what is so much the interest of the public, as well as her own. . . .'—*Journal to Stella.*

not exceeding fourteen or under twelve.' Amiable humourist! laughing castigator of morals! There was a process well known and practised in the Dean's gay days: when a lout entered the coffee-house, the wags proceeded to what they called 'roasting' him. This is roasting a subject with a vengeance. The Dean had a native genius for it. As the *Almanach des Gourmands* says, *On naît rôtisseur*.

And it was not merely by the sarcastic method that Swift exposed the unreasonableness of loving and having children. In Gulliver, the folly of love and marriage is urged by graver arguments and advice. In the famous Lilliputian kingdom, Swift speaks with approval of the practice of instantly removing children from their parents and educating them by the State; and amongst his favourite horses, a pair of foals is stated to be the very utmost a well-regulated equine couple would permit themselves. In fact, our great satirist was of opinion that conjugal love was unadvisable, and illustrated the theory by his own practice and example—God help him—which made him about the most wretched being in God's world.[1]

The grave and logical conduct of an absurd proposition, as exemplified in the cannibal proposal just mentioned, is our author's constant method through all his works of humour. Given a country of people six inches or sixty feet high, and by the mere process of the logic, a thousand wonderful absurdities are evolved, at so many stages of the calculation. Turning to the first minister who waited behind him with a white staff near as tall as the main-mast of the *Royal Sovereign*, the King of Brobdingnag observes how contemptible a thing human grandeur is, as represented by such a contemptible little creature as Gulliver. 'The Emperor of Lilliput's features are strong and masculine'—(what a surprising humour there is in this description!)—'the Emperor's features,' Gulliver

[1] 'My health . . . is somewhat mended, but at best I have an ill head and an aching heart.'—*In May*, 1719. [Letter to Lord Bolingbroke.]

says, 'are strong and masculine, with an Austrian lip and arched nose, his complexion olive, his countenance erect, his body and limbs well-proportioned, . . . and his deportment majestic. He is taller *by almost the breadth of my nail* than any of his court, which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders.'

What a surprising humour there is in these descriptions! How noble the satire is here! how just and honest! How perfect the image! Mr. Macaulay has quoted the charming lines of the poet, where the king of the pygmies is measured by the same standard. We have all read in Milton of the spear that was like 'the mast of some tall amiral', but these images are surely likely to come to the comic poet originally. The subject is before him. He is turning it in a thousand ways. He is full of it. The figure suggests itself naturally to him, and comes out of his subject, as in that wonderful passage, when Gulliver's box having been dropped by the eagle into the sea, and Gulliver having been received into the ship's cabin, he calls upon the crew to bring the box into the cabin, and put it on the table, the cabin being only a quarter the size of the box. It is the *veracity* of the blunder which is so admirable. Had a man come from such a country as Brobdingnag he would have blundered so.

But the best stroke of humour, if there be a best in that abounding book, is that where Gulliver, in the unpronounceable country, describes his parting from his master the horse.[1] 'I took,' he says, 'a second leave of my

[1] Perhaps the most melancholy satire in the whole of the dreadful book, is the description of the very old people in the Voyage to Laputa. At Lugnag, Gulliver hears of some persons who never die, called the Struldbrugs, and expressing a wish to become acquainted with men who must have so much learning and experience, his colloquist describes the Struldbrugs to him.

'He said, They commonly acted like mortals, till about thirty years old, after which, by degrees, they grew melancholy and dejected, increasing in both till they came to fourscore. This he learned from their own confession: for otherwise, there not being above two or three of that species born in an age, they were too few to form a general observation by. When they

master, but as I was going to prostrate myself to kiss his hoof, he did me the honour to raise it gently to my

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came to fourscore years, which is reckoned the extremity of living in this country, they had not only all the follies and infirmities of other old men, but many more, which arose from the dreadful prospect of never dying. They were not only opinionative, peevish, covetous, morose, vain, talkative, but incapable of friendship, and dead to all natural affection, which never descended below their grandchildren. Envy and impotent desires are their prevailing passions. But those objects against which their envy seems principally directed, are the vices of the younger sort and the deaths of the old. By reflecting on the former, they find themselves cut off from all possibility of pleasure; and whenever they see a funeral, they lament, and repine that others are gone to a harbour of rest, to which they themselves never can hope to arrive. They have no remembrance of anything but what they learned and observed in their youth and middle age, and even that is very imperfect. And for the truth or particulars of any fact, it is safer to depend on common tradition than upon their best recollections. The least miserable among them appear to be those who turn to dotage, and entirely lose their memories; these meet with more pity and assistance, because they want many bad qualities which abound in others.

'If a Struldbrug happen to marry one of his own kind, the marriage is dissolved of course, by the courtesy of the kingdom, as soon as the younger of the two comes to be fourscore. For the law thinks it a reasonable indulgence that those who are condemned, without any fault of their own, to a perpetual continuance in the world, should not have their misery doubled by the load of a wife.

'As soon as they have completed the term of eighty years, they are looked on as dead in law; their heirs immediately succeed to their estates, only a small pittance is reserved for their support; and the poor ones are maintained at the public charge. After that period, they are held incapable of any employment of trust or profit, they cannot purchase lands or take leases, neither are they allowed to be witnesses in any cause, either civil or criminal, not even for the decision of meers and bounds.

'At ninety they lose their teeth and hair; they have at that age no distinction of taste, but eat and drink whatever they can get without relish or appetite. The diseases they were subject to still continue, without increasing or diminishing. In talking, they forget the common appellation of things, and the names of persons, even of those who are their nearest friends and relations. For the same reason, they never can amuse themselves with reading, because their memory will not serve to carry them

mouth. I am not ignorant how much I have been censured for mentioning this last particular. Detractors are pleased to think it improbable that so illustrious a person should descend to give so great a mark of distinction to a creature so inferior as I. Neither have I forgotten how apt some travellers are to boast of extraordinary favours they have received. But if these censurers were better acquainted with the noble and

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from the beginning of a sentence to the end; and by this defect they are deprived of the only entertainment whereof they might otherwise be capable.

'The language of this country being always upon the flux, the Struldbrugs of one age do not understand those of another; neither are they able, after two hundred years, to hold any conversation (farther than by a few general words) with their neighbours, the mortals; and thus they lie under the disadvantage of living like foreigners in their own country.

'This was the account given me of the Struldbrugs, as near as I can remember. I afterwards saw five or six of different ages, the youngest not above two hundred years old, who were brought to me at several times by some of my friends; but although they were told "that I was a great traveller, and had seen all the world", they had not the least curiosity to ask me a question; only desired I would give them slumskudask, or a token of remembrance; which is a modest way of begging, to avoid the law that strictly forbids it, because they are provided for by the public, although indeed with a very scanty allowance.

'They are despised and hated by all sorts of people. When one of them is born, it is reckoned ominous, and their birth is recorded very particularly; so that you may know their age by consulting the register, which, however, has not been kept above a thousand years past, or at least has been destroyed by time or public disturbances. But the usual way of computing how old they are, is, by asking them what kings or great persons they can remember, and then consulting history; for infallibly the last prince in their mind did not begin his reign after they were fourscore years old.

'They were the most mortifying sight I ever beheld, and the women more horrible than the men. Besides the usual deformities in extreme old age, they acquired an additional ghastliness, in proportion to their number of years, which is not to be described; and among half a dozen, I soon distinguished which was the eldest, although there was not above a century or two between them.'—*Gulliver's Travels.* [Part III, chap. x.]

courteous disposition of the Houyhnhnms they would soon change their opinion.'

The surprise here, the audacity of circumstantial evidence, the astounding gravity of the speaker, who is not ignorant how much he has been censured, the nature of the favour conferred, and the respectful exultation at the receipt of it, are surely complete; it is truth topsy-turvy, entirely logical and absurd.

As for the humour and conduct of this famous fable, I suppose there is no person who reads but must admire; as for the moral, I think it horrible, shameful, unmanly, blasphemous; and giant and great as this Dean is, I say we should hoot him. Some of this audience may not have read the last part of Gulliver, and to such I would recall the advice of the venerable Mr. Punch to persons about to marry, and say 'Don't'. When Gulliver first lands among the Yahoos, the naked howling wretches clamber up trees and assault him, and he describes himself as 'almost stifled with the filth which fell about him'. The reader of the fourth part of *Gulliver's Travels* is like the hero himself in this instance. It is Yahoo language; a monster gibbering shrieks, and gnashing imprecations against mankind—tearing down all shreds of modesty, past all sense of manliness and shame; filthy in word, filthy in thought, furious, raging, obscene.

And dreadful it is to think that Swift knew the tendency of his creed—the fatal rocks towards which his logic desperately drifted. That last part of Gulliver is only a consequence of what has gone before; and the worthlessness of all mankind, the pettiness, cruelty, pride, imbecility, the general vanity, the foolish pretension, the mock greatness, the pompous dullness, the mean aims, the base successes—all these were present to him; it was with the din of these curses of the world, blasphemies against Heaven, shrieking in his ears, that he began to write his dreadful allegory—of which the meaning is that man is utterly wicked, desperate, and imbecile, and his passions are so monstrous, and his boasted powers so mean, that he is and deserves to be the slave of brutes, and ignorance is better than his vaunted

reason. What had this man done ? what secret remorse was rankling at his heart ? what fever was boiling in him, that he should see all the world bloodshot ? We view the world with our own eyes, each of us ; and we make from within us the world we see. A weary heart gets no gladness out of sunshine ; a selfish man is sceptical about friendship, as a man with no ear does not care for music. A frightful self-consciousness it must have been, which looked on mankind so darkly through those keen eyes of Swift.

A remarkable story is told by Scott, of Delany, who interrupted Archbishop King and Swift in a conversation which left the prelate in tears, and from which Swift rushed away with marks of strong terror and agitation in his countenance, upon which the archbishop said to Delany, 'You have just met the most unhappy man on earth ; but on the subject of his wretchedness you must never ask a question.'

The most unhappy man on earth ;—*Miserrimus*—what a character of him ! And at this time all the great wits of England had been at his feet. All Ireland had shouted after him, and worshipped him as a liberator, a saviour, the greatest Irish patriot and citizen. Dean Drapier Bickerstaff Gulliver—the most famous statesmen, and the greatest poets of his day, had applauded him, and done him homage ; and at this time writing over to Bolingbroke, from Ireland, he says, 'It is time for me to have done with the world, and so I would if I could get into a better before I was called into the best, *and not to die here in a rage, like a poisoned rat in a hole.*'

We have spoken about the men, and Swift's behaviour to them ; and now it behoves us not to forget that there are certain other persons in the creation who had rather intimate relations with the great Dean.[1] Two women

[1] The name of Varina has been thrown into the shade by those of the famous Stella and Vanessa ; but she had a story of her own to tell about the blue eyes of young Jonathan. One may say that the book of Swift's life opens at places kept by these blighted flowers ! Varina must have a paragraph.

She was a Miss Jane Waryng, sister to a college chum of his.

whom he loved and injured are known by every reader of books so familiarly that if we had seen them, or if they had been relatives of our own, we scarcely could have known them better. Who has not in his mind an image of Stella? Who does not love her? Fair and tender creature: pure and affectionate heart! Boots it to you, now that you have been at rest for a hundred and twenty years, not divided in death from the cold heart which caused yours, whilst it beat, such faithful pangs of love and grief—boots it to you now, that the whole world loves and deplores you? Scarce any man, I believe, ever thought of that grave, that did not cast a flower of pity on it, and write over it a sweet epitaph. Gentle lady, so lovely, so loving, so unhappy! you have had countless champions; millions of manly hearts mourning for you. From generation to generation we take up the fond tradition of your beauty; we watch and follow your tragedy, your bright morning love and purity, your constancy, your grief, your sweet martyrdom. We know your legend by heart. You are one of the saints of English story.

And if Stella's love and innocence are charming to contemplate, I will say that in spite of ill-usage, in spite of drawbacks, in spite of mysterious separation and union, of hope delayed and sickened heart—in the teeth of Vanessa, and that little episodical aberration which

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In 1696, when Swift was nineteen years old, we find him writing a love-letter to her, beginning, 'Impatience is the most inseparable quality of a lover.' But absence made a great difference in his feelings; so, four years afterwards, the tone is changed. He writes again, a very curious letter, offering to marry her, and putting the offer in such a way that nobody could possibly accept it.

After dwelling on his poverty, &c., he says, conditionally, 'I shall be blessed to have you in my arms, without regarding whether your person be beautiful, or your fortune large. Cleanliness in the first, and competency in the other, is all I look for!'

The editors do not tell us what became of Varina in life. One would be glad to know that she met with some worthy partner, and lived long enough to see her little boys laughing over Lilliput, without any *arrière pensée* of a sad character about the great Dean!

plunged Swift into such woeful pitfalls and quagmires of amorous perplexity—in spite of the verdicts of most women, I believe, who, as far as my experience and conversation go, generally take Vanessa's part in the controversy—in spite of the tears which Swift caused Stella to shed, and the rocks and barriers which fate and temper interposed, and which prevented the pure course of that true love from running smoothly—the brightest part of Swift's story, the pure star in that dark and tempestuous life of Swift's, is his love for Hester Johnson. It has been my business, professionally of course, to go through a deal of sentimental reading in my time, and to acquaint myself with love-making, as it has been described in various languages, and at various ages of the world; and I know of nothing more manly, more tender, more exquisitely touching, than some of these brief notes, written in what Swift calls 'his little language' in his journal to Stella.[1] He writes to her night and morning often. He never sends away a letter to her but he begins a new one on the same day. He can't bear to let go her kind little hand, as it were. He knows that she is thinking of him, and longing for him far away in Dublin yonder. He takes her letters from under his pillow and talks to them, familiarly, paternally, with fond epithets and pretty caresses—as he would to the sweet and artless creature who loved him. 'Stay,' he writes one morning—it is the 14th of December, 1710—'stay, I will answer some of your letter this morning in bed—let me see. Come and appear, little letter!

[1] A sentimental Champollion might find a good deal of matter for his art, in expounding the symbols of the 'Little Language'. Usually, Stella is 'M.D.,' but sometimes her companion, Mrs. Dingley, is included in it. Swift is 'Presto'; also P.D.F.R. We have 'Good night, M.D.; Night, M.D.; Little M.D.; Stellakins; Pretty Stella; Dear, roguish, impudent, pretty M.D.!' Every now and then he breaks into rhyme, as—

I wish you both a merry new year,
Roast beef, minced-pies, and good strong beer,
And me a share of your good cheer,
That I was there, or you were here,
And you are a little saucy dear. [Jan. 1, 1710-11.]

Here I am, says he, and what say you to Mrs. M. D. this morning fresh and fasting? And can Stella read this writing without hurting her dear eyes?' he goes on, after more kind prattle and fond whispering. The dear eyes shine clearly upon him then—the good angel of his life is with him and blessing him. Ah, it was a hard fate that wrung from them so many tears, and stabbed pitilessly that pure and tender bosom. A hard fate: but would she have changed it? I have heard a woman say that she would have taken Swift's cruelty to have had his tenderness. He had a sort of worship for her whilst he wounded her. He speaks of her after she is gone; of her wit, of her kindness, of her grace, of her beauty, with a simple love and reverence that are indescribably touching; in contemplation of her goodness his hard heart melts into pathos; his cold rhyme kindles and glows into poetry, and he falls down on his knees, so to speak, before the angel whose life he had embittered, confesses his own wretchedness and unworthiness, and adores her with cries of remorse and love:—

When on my sickly couch I lay,
Impatient both of night and day,
Lamenting in unmanly strains,
Called every power to ease my pains,
Then Stella ran to my relief,
With cheerful face and inward grief,
And though by Heaven's severe decree
She suffers hourly more than me,
No cruel master could require
From slaves employed for daily hire,
What Stella, by her friendship warmed,
With vigour and delight performed.
My sinking spirits now supplies
With cordials in her hands and eyes;
Now, with a soft and silent tread,
Unheard she moves about my bed.

. . . . . .

Best pattern of true friends! beware;
You pay too dearly for your care

If, while your tenderness secures
My life, it must endanger yours:
For such a fool was never found
Who pulled a palace to the ground,
Only to have the ruins made
Materials for a house decayed.

One little triumph Stella had in her life—one dear little piece of injustice was performed in her favour, for which I confess, for my part, I can't help thanking fate and the Dean. *That other person* was sacrificed to her—that—that young woman, who lived five doors from Dr. Swift's lodgings in Bury Street, and who flattered him, and made love to him in such an outrageous manner—Vanessa was thrown over.

Swift did not keep Stella's letters to him in reply to those he wrote to her.[1] He kept Bolingbroke's, and

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[1] The following passages are from a paper begun by Swift on the evening of the day of her death, Jan. 28, 1727–8:

'She was sickly from her childhood, until about the age of fifteen; but then grew into perfect health, and was looked upon as one of the most beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young women in London—only a little too fat. Her hair was blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection.

'. . . Properly speaking'—he goes on with a calmness which, under the circumstances, is terrible—'she has been dying six months! . . .'

'Never was any of her sex born with better gifts of the mind, or who more improved them by reading and conversation. . . . All of us who had the happiness of her friendship agreed unanimously, that in an afternoon or evening's conversation she never failed before we parted of delivering the best thing that was said in the company. Some of us have written down several of her sayings, or what the French call *bons mots*, wherein she excelled almost beyond belief.' [*On the Death of Mrs. Johnson.*]

The specimens on record, however, in the Dean's paper called *Bons Mots de Stella*, scarcely bear out this last part of the panegyric. But the following prove her wit:

'A gentleman, who had been very silly and pert in her company, at last began to grieve at remembering the loss of a child lately dead. A bishop sitting by comforted him—that he should be easy, because "the child was gone to heaven". "No, my lord," said she; "that is it which most grieves him, because he is sure never to see his child there."

Pope's, and Harley's, and Peterborough's: but Stella, 'very carefully,' the *Lives* say, kept Swift's. Of course: that is the way of the world: and so we cannot tell what her style was, or of what sort were the little letters which the doctor placed there at night, and bade to appear from under his pillow of a morning. But in Letter IV of that famous collection he describes his lodging in Bury Street, where he has the first floor, a dining-room and bedchamber, at eight shillings a week; and in Letter VI he says 'he has visited a lady just come to town', whose name somehow is not mentioned; and in Letter VIII he enters a query of Stella's—'What do you mean "that boards near me, that I dine with now and then?" What the deuce! You know whom I have dined with every day since I left you, better than I do.' Of course she does. Of course Swift has not the slightest idea of what she means. But in a few letters more it turns out that the doctor has been to dine 'gravely' with a Mrs. Vanhomrigh: then that he has been to 'his neighbour': then that he has been unwell, and means to dine for the whole week with his neighbour! Stella was quite right in her previsions. She saw from the very first hint what was going to happen; and scented Vanessa in the air.[1] The rival is at the Dean's feet.

'When she was extremely ill, her physician said, "Madam, you are near the bottom of the hill, but we will endeavour to get you up again." She answered, "Doctor, I fear I shall be out of breath before I get up to the top."

'A very dirty clergyman of her acquaintance, who affected smartness and repartees, was asked by some of the company how his nails came to be so dirty. He was at a loss; but she solved the difficulty, by saying, "the Doctor's nails grew dirty by scratching himself."

'A quaker apothecary sent her a vial, corked; it had a broad brim, and a label of paper about its neck. "What is that?"—said she—"my apothecary's son!" The ridiculous resemblance and the suddenness of the question, set us all a-laughing.'—*Swift's Works*, SCOTT's ed., vol. ix, 295–6.

[1] 'I am so hot and lazy after my morning's walk, that I loitered at Mrs. Vanhomrigh's, where my best gown and periwig was, and *out of mere listlessness dine there, very often;* so I did to-day.'—*Journal to Stella.* [May 30, 1711.]

The pupil and teacher are reading together, and drinking tea together, and going to prayers together, and learning Latin together, and conjugating *amo, amas, amavi* together. The 'little language' is over for poor Stella. By the rule of grammar and the course of conjugation, doesn't *amavi* come after *amo* and *amas*?

The loves of Cadenus and Vanessa [1] you may peruse in Cadenus's own poem on the subject, and in poor Vanessa's vehement expostulatory verses and letters to him; she adores him, implores him, admires him, thinks him something godlike, and only prays to be admitted to lie at his feet.[2] As they are bringing him home from church,

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Mrs. Vanhomrigh, Vanessa's mother, was the widow of a Dutch merchant who held lucrative appointments in King William's time. The family settled in London in 1709, and had a house in Bury Street, St. James's—a street made notable by such residents as Swift and Steele; and, in our own time, Moore and Crabbe.

[1] 'Vanessa was excessively vain. The character given of her by Cadenus is fine painting, but in general fictitious. She was fond of dress; impatient to be admired; very romantic in her turn of mind; superior, in her own opinion, to all her sex; full of pertness, gaiety, and pride; not without some agreeable accomplishments, but far from being either beautiful or genteel; . . . happy in the thoughts of being reputed Swift's concubine, but still aiming and intending to be his wife.'—Orrery. [*Remarks*, &c., Letter ix.]

[2] 'You bid me be easy, and you would see me as often as you could. You had better have said, as often as you could get the better of your inclinations so much; or as often as you remembered there was such a person in the world. If you continue to treat me as you do, you will not be made uneasy by me long. It is impossible to describe what I have suffered since I saw you last: I am sure I could have borne the rack much better than those killing, killing words of yours. Sometimes I have resolved to die without seeing you more; but those resolves, to your misfortune, did not last long; for there is something in human nature that prompts one so to find relief in this world, I must give way to it, and beg you would see me, and speak kindly to me; for I am sure you would not condemn any one to suffer what I have done, could you but know it. The reason I write to you is, because I cannot tell it to you, should I see you; for when I begin to complain, then you are angry, and there is something in your look so awful that it strikes me dumb. Oh! that you may but have so much regard for me left, that

those divine feet of Dr. Swift's are found pretty often in Vanessa's parlour. He likes to be admired and adored. He finds Miss Vanhomrigh to be a woman of great taste and spirit, and beauty and wit, and a fortune too. He sees her every day; he does not tell Stella about the business: until the impetuous Vanessa becomes too fond of him, until the doctor is quite frightened by the young woman's ardour, and confounded by her warmth. He wanted to marry neither of them—that I believe was the truth; but if he had not married Stella, Vanessa would have had him in spite of himself. When he went back to Ireland, his Ariadne, not content to remain in her isle, pursued the fugitive Dean. In vain he protested, he vowed, he soothed, and bullied; the news of the Dean's marriage with Stella at last came to her, and it killed her—she died of that passion.[1]

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this complaint may touch your soul with pity. I say as little as ever I can; did you but know what I thought, I am sure it would move you. Forgive me, and believe I cannot help telling you this and live.'—VANESSA. (1714.)

[1] 'If we consider Swift's behaviour, so far only as it relates to women, we shall find that he looked upon them rather as busts than as whole figures.'—ORRERY. [*Remarks*, &c., Letter x.]

'You would have smiled to have found his house a constant seraglio of very virtuous women, who attended him from morning to night.'—ORRERY. [*Ibid.*]

A correspondent of Sir Walter Scott's furnished him with the materials on which to found the following interesting passage about Vanessa—after she had retired to cherish her passion in retreat:—

'Marley Abbey, near Celbridge, where Miss Vanhomrigh resided, is built much in the form of a real cloister, especially in its external appearance. An aged man (upwards of ninety, by his own account), showed the grounds to my correspondent. He was the son of Mrs. Vanhomrigh's gardener, and used to work with his father in the garden when a boy. He remembered the unfortunate Vanessa well; and his account of her corresponded with the usual description of her person, especially as to her *embonpoint*. He said she went seldom abroad, and saw little company; her constant amusement was reading, or walking in the garden. . . . She avoided company, and was always melancholy, save when Dean Swift was there, and then she seemed happy. The garden was to an uncommon degree crowded with laurels. The old man said that when Miss Vanhomrigh expected

And when she died, and Stella heard that Swift had written beautifully regarding her, 'That doesn't surprise

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the Dean she always planted with her own hand a laurel or two against his arrival. He showed her favourite seat, still called "Vanessa's bower". Three or four trees and some laurels indicate the spot. . . . There were two seats and a rude table within the bower, the opening of which commanded a view of the Liffey. . . . In this sequestered spot, according to the old gardener's account, the Dean and Vanessa used often to sit, with books and writing materials on the table before them.'—SCOTT'S *Swift* [Sect. 5], vol. i, pp. 246-7.

'. . . But Miss Vanhomrigh, irritated at the situation in which she found herself, determined on bringing to a crisis those expectations of an union with the object of her affections—to the hope of which she had clung amid every vicissitude of his conduct towards her. The most probable bar was his undefined connexion with Mrs. Johnson, which, as it must have been perfectly known to her, had, doubtless, long excited her secret jealousy; although only a single hint to that purpose is to be found in their correspondence, and that so early as 1713, when she writes to him—then in Ireland—"If you are very happy, it is ill-natured of you not to tell me so, *except 'tis what is inconsistent with mine.*" Her silence and patience under this state of uncertainty for no less than eight years, must have been partly owing to her awe for Swift, and partly, perhaps, to the weak state of her rival's health, which, from year to year, seemed to announce speedy dissolution. At length, however, Vanessa's impatience prevailed, and she ventured on the decisive step of writing to Mrs. Johnson herself, requesting to know the nature of that connexion. Stella, in reply, informed her of her marriage with the Dean; and full of the highest resentment against Swift for having given another female such a right in him as Miss Vanhomrigh's inquiries implied, she sent to him her rival's letter of interrogation, and, without seeing him, or awaiting his reply, retired to the house of Mr. Ford, near Dublin. Every reader knows the consequence. Swift, in one of those paroxysms of fury to which he was liable, both from temper and disease, rode instantly to Marley Abbey. As he entered the apartment, the sternness of his countenance, which was peculiarly formed to express the fiercer passions, struck the unfortunate Vanessa with such terror that she could scarce ask whether he would not sit down. He answered by flinging a letter on the table, and, instantly leaving the house, mounted his horse, and returned to Dublin. When Vanessa opened the packet, she only found her own letter to Stella. It was her death warrant. She sunk at once under the disappointment of the delayed, yet cherished, hopes which had so long sickened her heart, and beneath the

me,' said Mrs. Stella, 'for we all know the Dean could write beautifully about a broomstick.' A woman—a true woman! Would you have had one of them forgive the other?

In a note in his biography, Scott says that his friend Dr. Tuke, of Dublin, has a lock of Stella's hair, enclosed in a paper by Swift, on which are written in the Dean's hand, the words: '*Only a woman's hair.*' An instance, says Scott, of the Dean's desire to veil his feelings under the mask of cynical indifference.

See the various notions of critics! Do those words indicate indifference or an attempt to hide feeling? Did you ever hear or read four words more pathetic? Only a woman's hair: only love, only fidelity, only purity, innocence, beauty; only the tenderest heart in the world stricken and wounded, and passed away now out of reach of pangs of hope deferred, love insulted, and pitiless desertion:—only that lock of hair left; and memory and remorse, for the guilty, lonely wretch, shuddering over the grave of his victim.

And yet to have had so much love, he must have given some. Treasures of wit and wisdom, and tenderness, too, must that man have had locked up in the caverns of his gloomy heart, and shown fitfully to one or two whom he took in there. But it was not good to visit that place. People did not remain there long, and suffered for having been there.[1] He shrank away from all affections sooner or later. Stella and Vanessa both died near him, and away from him. He had not heart enough to see them

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unrestrained wrath of him for whose sake she had indulged them. How long she survived this last interview is uncertain, but the time does not seem to have exceeded a few weeks.'—SCOTT. [*Life of Swift*, Sect. 5, vol. i, p. 249.]

[1] 'M. Swift est Rabelais dans son bon sens, et vivant en bonne compagnie. Il n'a pas, à la verité, la gaîté du premier, mais il a toute la finesse, la raison, le choix, le bon goût qui manquent à notre curé de Meudon. Ses vers sont d'un goût singulier, et presque inimitable: la bonne plaisanterie est son partage en vers et en prose; mais pour le bien entendre il faut faire un petit voyage dans son pays.'—VOLTAIRE, *Lettres sur les Anglais*, Let. 22.

die. He broke from his fastest friend, Sheridan; he slunk away from his fondest admirer, Pope. His laugh jars on one's ear after sevenscore years. He was always alone—alone and gnashing in the darkness, except when Stella's sweet smile came and shone upon him. When that went, silence and utter night closed over him. An immense genius: an awful downfall and ruin. So great a man he seems to me, that thinking of him is like thinking of an empire falling. We have other great names to mention—none greater or so gloomy.

LECTURE THE SECOND

CONGREVE AND ADDISON

A GREAT number of years ago, before the passing of the Reform Bill, there existed at Cambridge a certain debating club, called the 'Union'; and I remember that there was a tradition amongst the undergraduates who frequented that renowned school of oratory, that the great leaders of the Opposition and Government had their eyes upon the University Debating Club, and that if a man distinguished himself there he ran some chance of being returned to Parliament as a great nobleman's nominee. So Jones of John's, or Thomson of Trinity, would rise in their might, and draping themselves in their gowns, rally round the monarchy, or hurl defiance at priests and kings, with the majesty of Pitt or the fire of Mirabeau, fancying all the while that the great nobleman's emissary was listening to the debate from the back benches, where he was sitting with the family seat in his pocket. Indeed, the legend said that one or two young Cambridge men, orators of the Union, were actually caught up thence, and carried down to Cornwall or old Sarum, and so into Parliament. And many a young fellow deserted the jogtrot University curriculum, to hang on in the dust behind the fervid wheels of the Parliamentary chariot.

Where, I have often wondered, were the sons of peers and Members of Parliament in Anne's and George's time? Were they all in the army, or hunting in the country, or boxing the watch? How was it that the young gentlemen from the University got such a prodigious number of places? A lad composed a neat copy of verses at Christchurch or Trinity, in which the death of a great personage was bemoaned, the French king

assailed, the Dutch or Prince Eugene complimented, or the reverse; and the party in power was presently to provide for the young poet; and a commissionership, or a post in the Stamps, or the secretaryship of an embassy, or a clerkship in the Treasury, came into the bard's possession. A wonderful fruit-bearing rod was that of Busby's. What have men of letters got in *our* time? Think, not only of Swift, a king fit to rule in any time or empire—but Addison, Steele, Prior, Tickell, Congreve, John Gay, John Dennis, and many others, who got public employment, and pretty little pickings out of the public purse.[1] The wits of whose names we shall treat in this lecture and two following, all (save one) touched the King's coin, and had, at some period of their lives, a happy quarter-day coming round for them.

They all began at school or college in the regular way, producing panegyrics upon public characters, what were called odes upon public events, battles, sieges, court

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[1] The following is a *conspectus* of them:—

Addison.—Commissioner of Appeals; Under Secretary of State; Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Keeper of the Records in Ireland; Lord of Trade; and one of the Principal Secretaries of State, successively.

Steele.—Commissioner of the Stamp Office; Surveyor of the Royal Stables at Hampton Court; and Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians; Commissioner of 'Forfeited Estates in Scotland'.

Prior.—Secretary to the Embassy at the Hague; Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King William; Secretary to the Embassy in France; Under Secretary of State; Ambassador to France.

Tickell.—Under Secretary of State; Secretary to the Lords Justices of Ireland.

Congreve.—Commissioner for licensing Hackney Coaches; Commissioner for Wine Licences; place in the Pipe-office; post in the Custom-house; Secretary of Jamaica.

Gay.—Secretary to the Earl of Clarendon (when Ambassador to Hanover).

John Dennis.—A place in the Custom-house.

'En Angleterre . . . les lettres sont plus en honneur qu'ici.'—Voltaire, *Lettres sur les Anglais*, Let. 20.

marriages and deaths, in which the gods of Olympus and the tragic muse were fatigued with invocations, according to the fashion of the time in France and in England. 'Aid us Mars, Bacchus, Apollo,' cried Addison, or Congreve, singing of William or Marlborough. '*Accourez . . . Chastes nymphes du Permesse*,' says Boileau, celebrating the Grand Monarch. '*Des sons que ma lyre enfante, Ces arbres sont réjouis : Marquez-en bien la cadence ; Et vous, vents, faites silence ! Je vais parler de Louis !*' School-boys' themes and foundation exercises are the only relics left now of this scholastic fashion. The Olympians remain quite undisturbed in their mountain. What man of note, what contributor to the poetry of a country newspaper, would now think of writing a congratulatory ode on the birth of the heir to a dukedom, or the marriage of a nobleman ? In the past century the young gentlemen of the Universities all exercised themselves at these queer compositions ; and some got fame, and some gained patrons and places for life, and many more took nothing by these efforts of what they were pleased to call their muses.

William Congreve's[1] Pindaric Odes are still to be found in *Johnson's Poets*, that now unfrequented poets' corner, in which so many forgotten bigwigs have a niche ; but though he was also voted to be one of the greatest tragic poets of any day, it was Congreve's wit and humour which first recommended him to courtly fortune. And it is recorded, that his first play, *The Old Bachelor*, brought our author to the notice of that great patron of English muses, Charles Montague Lord Halifax, who being desirous to place so eminent a wit in a state of ease and tranquillity, instantly made him one of the Commissioners for licensing hackney-coaches, bestowed on him soon after a place in the Pipe-office, and likewise a post in the Custom-house of the value of 600*l*.

A commissionership of hackney-coaches—a post in the

[1] He was the son of Colonel William Congreve, and grandson of Richard Congreve, Esq., of Congreve and Stretton in Staffordshire—a very ancient family.

Custom-house—a place in the Pipe-office, and all for writing a comedy! Doesn't it sound like a fable, that place in the Pipe-office ?[1] *Ah, l'heureux temps que celui de ces fables!* Men of letters there still be: but I doubt whether any Pipe-offices are left. The public has smoked those long ago.

Words, like men, pass current for a while with the public, and being known everywhere abroad, at length take their places in society; so even the most secluded and refined ladies here present will have heard the phrase from their sons or brothers at school, and will permit me to call William Congreve, Esquire, the most eminent literary 'swell' of his age. In my copy of *Johnson's Lives* Congreve's wig is the tallest, and put on with the jauntiest air of all the laurelled worthies. 'I am the great Mr. Congreve,' he seems to say, looking out from his voluminous curls. People called him the great Mr. Congreve.[2] From the beginning of his career until the end everybody admired him. Having got his education in Ireland, at the same school and college with Swift, he

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[1] 'PIPE.—*Pipe*, in law, is a roll in the Exchequer, called also the *great roll*.

'PIPE-*Office* is an office wherein a person called the *Clerk of the Pipe* makes out leases of crown lands, by warrant, from the Lord-Treasurer, or Commissioners of the Treasury, or Chancellor of the Exchequer.

'Clerk of the Pipe makes up all accounts of sheriffs, &c.'—REES, *Cyclopaed.* Art. PIPE.

'PIPE-*Office*.—Spelman thinks so called because the papers were kept in a large *pipe* or cask.

'These be at last brought into that office of Her Majesty's Exchequer, which we, by a metaphor, do call the *pipe* . . . because the whole receipt is finally conveyed into it by means of divers small *pipes* or quills.'—BACON, *The Office of Alienations*.

[We are indebted to Richardson's *Dictionary* for this fragment of erudition. But a modern man of letters can know little on these points—by experience.]

[2] 'It has been observed that no change of Ministries affected him in the least, nor was he ever removed from any post that was given him, excepting to a better. His place in the Custom-house, and his office of Secretary in Jamaica, are said to have brought him in upwards of twelve hundred pounds a year.'—*Biog. Brit.*, Art. CONGREVE.

came to live in the Middle Temple, London, where he luckily bestowed no attention to the law; but splendidly frequented the coffee-houses and theatres, and appeared in the side-box, the tavern, the Piazza, and the Mall, brilliant, beautiful, and victorious from the first. Everybody acknowledged the young chieftain. The great Mr. Dryden [1] declared that he was equal to Shakespeare, and bequeathed to him his own undisputed poetical crown, and writes of him, 'Mr. Congreve has done me the favour to review the *Aeneis*, and compare my version with the original. I shall never be ashamed to own that this excellent young man has showed me many faults which I have endeavoured to correct.'

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[1] Dryden addressed his twelfth epistle to 'My dear friend Mr. Congreve', on his comedy called *The Double Dealer*, in which he says—

> Great Jonson did by strength of judgment please;
> Yet, doubling Fletcher's force, he wants his ease.
> In differing talents both adorn'd their age:
> One for the study, t'other for the stage.
> But both to Congreve justly shall submit,
> One match'd in judgment, both o'ermatched in wit.
> In him all beauties of this age we see, &c. &c.

The *Double Dealer*, however, was not so palpable a hit as the *Old Bachelor*, but, at first, met with opposition. The critics having fallen foul of it, our 'swell' applied the scourge to that presumptuous body, in the *Epistle Dedicatory* to the 'Right Honourable Charles Montague.' [prefixed to the *Double Dealer*.]

'I was conscious,' said he, 'where a true critic might have put me upon my defence. I was prepared for the attack, . . . but I have not heard anything said sufficient to provoke an answer.' He goes on—

'But there is one thing at which I am more concerned than all the false criticisms that are made upon me; and that is, some of the ladies are offended. I am heartily sorry for it; for I declare, I would rather disoblige all the critics in the world than one of the fair sex. They are concerned that I have represented some women vicious and affected. How can I help it? It is the business of a comic poet to paint the vices and follies of human kind. . . . I should be very glad of an opportunity to make my compliment to those ladies who are offended. But they can no more expect it in a comedy, than *to be tickled by a surgeon when he is letting them blood*.'

The 'excellent young man' was but three- or four-and-twenty when the great Dryden thus spoke of him: the greatest literary chief in England, the veteran field-marshal of letters, himself the marked man of all Europe, and the centre of a school of wits, who daily gathered round his chair and tobacco-pipe at Will's. Pope dedicated his *Iliad* to him;[1] Swift, Addison, Steele, all acknowledge Congreve's rank, and lavish compliments upon him. Voltaire went to wait upon him as on one of the Representatives of Literature—and the man who scarce praises any other living person, who flung abuse at Pope, and Swift, and Steele, and Addison—the Grub Street Timon, old John Dennis,[2] was hat in hand to Mr. Congreve; and said, that when he retired from the stage, Comedy went with him.

Nor was he less victorious elsewhere. He was admired in the drawing-rooms as well as the coffee-houses; as much beloved in the side-box as on the stage. He loved, and conquered, and jilted the beautiful Bracegirdle,[3] the

[1] 'Instead of endeavouring to raise a vain monument to myself, . . . let me leave behind me a memorial of my friendship, with one of the most valuable men as well as finest writers of my age and country—one who has tried, and knows by his own experience, how hard an undertaking it is to do justice to Homer—and one who, I am sure, seriously rejoices with me at the period of my labours. To him, therefore, having brought this long work to a conclusion, I desire to dedicate it, and to have the honour and satisfaction of placing together in this manner the names of Mr. Congreve and of—A. Pope.'—*Postscript to Translation of the Iliad of Homer.* Mar. 25, 1720.

[2] 'When asked why he listened to the praises of Dennis, he said, he had much rather be flattered than abused. Swift had a particular friendship for our author, and generously took him under his protection in his high authoritative manner.'—Thos. Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies.* [Vol. iii, p. 381 (1784).]

[3] 'Congreve was very intimate for years with Mrs. Bracegirdle, and lived in the same street, his house very near hers, until his acquaintance with the young Duchess of Marlborough. He then quitted that house. The Duchess showed me a diamond necklace (which Lady Di. used afterwards to wear) that cost seven thousand pounds, and was purchased with the money Congreve left her. How much better would it have been to have given it to poor Mrs. Bracegirdle.'—Dr. Young (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 376, Singer's ed. of 1820.]

heroine of all his plays, the favourite of all the town of her day—and the Duchess of Marlborough, Marlborough's daughter, had such an admiration of him, that when he died she had an ivory figure made to imitate him,[1] and a large wax doll with gouty feet to be dressed just as the great Congreve's gouty feet were dressed in his great lifetime. He saved some money by his Pipe-office, and his Custom-house office, and his Hackney-coach office, and nobly left it, not to Bracegirdle, who wanted it,[2] but to the Duchess of Marlborough, who didn't.[3]

How can I introduce to you that merry and shameless Comic Muse who won him such a reputation? Nell Gwynn's servant fought the other footman for having called his mistress a bad name; and in like manner, and with pretty like epithets, Jeremy Collier attacked that

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[1] 'A glass was put in the hand of the statue, which was supposed to bow to her Grace and to nod in approbation of what she spoke to it.'—Thos. Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies*. [Vol. iii, p. 382.]

[2] The sum Congreve left her was 200*l.*, as is said in the *Dramatic Miscellanies* of Tom Davies; where are some particulars about this charming actress and beautiful woman.

She had a 'lively aspect', says Tom, on the authority of Cibber, and 'such a glow of health and cheerfulness in her countenance, that she inspired everybody . . . with desire'. 'Scarce an audience saw her that were not half of them her lovers.' [Vol. iii, p. 338.]

Congreve and Rowe courted her in the persons of their lovers. 'In *Tamerlane*, Rowe courted her Selima, in the person of Axalla. . . . Congreve insinuated his addresses in his Valentine to her Angelica, in *Love for Love;* in his Osmyn to her Almeria, in *The Mourning Bride;* and, lastly, in his Mirabel to her Millamant, in *The Way of the World*. Mirabel, the fine gentleman of the play, is, I believe, not very distant from the real character of Congreve.'—*Dramatic Miscellanies*, vol. iii [p. 337].

She retired from the stage when Mrs. Oldfield began to be the public favourite. She died in 1748, in the eighty-fifth year of her age.

[3] Johnson calls his legacy the 'accumulation of attentive parsimony, which', he continues, 'though to her (the Duchess) superfluous and useless, might have given great assistance to the ancient family from which he descended, at that time, by the imprudence of his relation, reduced to difficulties and distress.' [*Life of Congreve*, p. 56.]

godless, reckless Jezebel, the English comedy of his time, and called her what Nell Gwynn's man's fellow-servants called Nell Gwynn's man's mistress. The servants of the theatre, Dryden, Congreve,[1] and others, defended themselves with the same success, and for the same cause which set Nell's lackey fighting. She was a disreputable, daring, laughing, painted French baggage, that Comic Muse. She came over from the continent with Charles (who chose many more of his female friends there) at the Restoration—a wild, dishevelled Laïs, with eyes bright with wit and wine—a saucy court-favourite that sat at the King's knees, and laughed in his face, and, when she showed her bold cheeks at her chariot-window, had some of the noblest and most famous people of the land bowing round her wheel. She was kind and popular enough, that daring Comedy, that audacious poor Nell—she was gay and generous, kind and frank, as such people can afford to be: and the men who lived with her and laughed with her, took her pay and drank her wine, turned out when the Puritans hooted her, to fight and

[1] He replied to Collier, in the pamphlet called *Amendments of Mr. Collier's False and Imperfect Citations*, &c. A specimen or two are subjoined:—

'The greater part of these examples which he has produced, are only demonstrations of his own impurity: they only savour of his utterance, and were sweet enough till tainted by his breath.' [p. 3 (1690).]

'Where the expression is unblameable in its own clear and genuine signification, he enters into it, himself, like the evil spirit; he possesses the innocent phrase, and makes it bellow forth his own blasphemies.' [p. 4.]

'If I do not return his civilities in calling him names, it is because I am not very well versed in his nomenclatures. . . . I will only call him Mr. Collier, and that I will call him as often as I think he shall deserve it.' [p. 6.]

'The corruption of a rotten divine is the generation of a sour critic.' [p. 26.]

'Congreve,' says Dr. Johnson, 'a very young man, elated with success, and impatient of censure, assumed an air of confidence and security. . . . The dispute was protracted through ten years; but at last Comedy grew more modest, and Collier lived to see the reward of his labour in the reformation of the theatre.'—*Life of Congreve.* [p. 51.]

defend her. But the jade was indefensible, and it is pretty certain her servants knew it.

There is life and death going on in everything: truth and lies always at battle. Pleasure is always warring against self-restraint. Doubt is always crying Psha, and sneering. A man in life, a humourist in writing about life, sways over to one principle or the other, and laughs with the reverence for right and the love of truth in his heart, or laughs at these from the other side. Didn't I tell you that dancing was a serious business to Harlequin? I have read two or three of Congreve's plays over before speaking of him; and my feelings were rather like those, which I daresay most of us here have had, at Pompeii, looking at the Poet's house and the relics of an orgy: a dried wine-jar or two, a charred supper-table, the breast of a dancing girl pressed against the ashes, the laughing skull of a jester, a perfect stillness round about, as the cicerone twangs his moral, and the blue sky shines calmly over the ruin. The Congreve muse is dead, and her song choked in Time's ashes. We gaze at the skeleton, and wonder at the life which once revelled in its mad veins. We take the skull up, and muse over the frolic and daring, the wit, scorn, passion, hope, desire, with which that empty bowl once fermented. We think of the glances that allured, the tears that melted, of the bright eyes that shone in those vacant sockets; and of lips whispering love, and checks dimpling with smiles, that once covered yon ghastly yellow framework They used to call those teeth pearls once. See! there's the cup she drank from, the gold chain she wore on her neck, the vase which held the rouge for her cheeks, her looking-glass, and the harp she used to dance to. Instead of a feast we find a gravestone, and in place of a mistress, a few bones.

Reading in these plays now is like shutting your ears and looking at people dancing. What does it mean? the measures, the grimaces, the bowing, shuffling and retreating, the *cavalier seul* advancing upon those ladies—those ladies and men twirling round at the end in a mad galop, after which everybody bows and the quaint rite is

celebrated. Without the music we can't understand that comic dance of the last century—its strange gravity and gaiety, its decorum or its indecorum. It has a jargon of its own quite unlike life; a sort of moral of its own quite unlike life too. I'm afraid it's a heathen mystery, symbolizing a Pagan doctrine; protesting, as the Pompeians very likely were, assembled at their theatre and laughing at their games—as the Poet and his friends, and their mistresses protested—crowned with flowers, with cups in their hands, against the new, hard, ascetic, pleasure-hating doctrine, whose gaunt disciples, lately passed over from the Asian shores of the Mediterranean, were for breaking the fair images of Venus, and flinging the altars of Bacchus down.

I fancy poor Congreve's theatre is a temple of Pagan delights, and mysteries not permitted except among heathens. I fear the theatre carries down that ancient tradition and worship, as masons have carried their secret signs and rites from temple to temple. When the libertine hero carries off the beauty in the play, and the dotard is laughed to scorn for having the young wife: in the ballad, when the poet bids his mistress to gather roses while she may, and warns her that old Time is still a-flying: in the ballet, when honest Corydon courts Phillis under the treillage of the pasteboard cottage, and leers at her over the head of grandpapa in red stockings, who is opportunely asleep; and when, seduced by the invitations of the rosy youth, she comes forward to the footlights, and they perform on each other's tiptoes that *pas* which you all know, and which is only interrupted by old grandpapa awaking from his doze at the pasteboard chalet (whither he returns to take another nap in case the young people get an encore): when Harlequin, splendid in youth, strength, and agility, arrayed in gold and a thousand colours, springs over the heads of countless perils, leaps down the throat of bewildered giants, and, dauntless and splendid, dances danger down: when Mr. Punch, that godless old rebel, breaks every law and laughs at it with odious triumph, outwits the lawyer, bullies the beadle, knocks his wife about the

head, and hangs the hangman—don't you see in the comedy, in the song, in the dance, in the ragged little Punch's puppet-show—the Pagan protest? Doesn't it seem as if Life puts in its plea and sings its comment? 'Look how the lovers walk and hold each other's hands and whisper!' Sings the chorus—'There is nothing like love, there is nothing like youth, there is nothing like beauty of your springtime. Look! how old age tries to meddle with merry sport! Beat him with his own crutch, the wrinkled old dotard! There is nothing like youth, there is nothing like beauty, there is nothing like strength. Strength and valour win beauty and youth. Be brave and conquer. Be young and happy. Enjoy, enjoy, enjoy! Would you know the *segreto per esser felice?* Here it is, in a smiling mistress and a cup of Falernian.' As the boy tosses the cup and sings his song —hark! what is that chaunt coming nearer and nearer? What is that dirge which *will* disturb us? The lights of the festival burn dim—the cheeks turn pale—the voice quavers—and the cup drops on the floor. Who's there? Death and Fate are at the gate, and they *will* come in.

Congreve's comic feast flares with lights, and round the table, emptying their flaming bowls of drink, and exchanging the wildest jests and ribaldry, sit men and women, waited on by rascally valets and attendants as dissolute as their mistresses—perhaps the very worst company in the world. There doesn't seem to be a pretence of morals. At the head of the table sits Mirabel or Belmour (dressed in the French fashion and waited on by English imitators of Scapin and Frontin). Their calling is to be irresistible, and to conquer everywhere. Like the heroes of the chivalry story, whose long-winded loves and combats they were sending out of fashion, they are always splendid and triumphant—overcome all dangers, vanquish all enemies, and win the beauty at the end. Fathers, husbands, usurers are the foes these champions contend with. They are merciless in old age, invariably, and an old man plays the part in the dramas, which the wicked enchanter or the great blundering giant performs in the chivalry tales, who threatens and grumbles and

resists—a huge stupid obstacle always overcome by the knight. It is an old man with a money-box: Sir Belmour his son or nephew spends his money and laughs at him. It is an old man with a young wife whom he locks up: Sir Mirabel robs him of his wife, trips up his gouty old heels and leaves the old hunx—the old fool, what business has he to hoard his money, or to lock up blushing eighteen? Money is for youth, love is for youth, away with the old people! When Millamant is sixty, having of course divorced the first Lady Millamant, and married his friend Doricourt's grand-daughter out of the nursery—it will be his turn; and young Belmour will make a fool of him. All this pretty morality you have in the comedies of William Congreve, Esq. They are full of wit. Such manners as he observes, he observes with great humour; but ah! it's a weary feast that banquet of wit where no love is. It palls very soon; sad indigestions follow it and lonely blank headaches in the morning.

I can't pretend to quote scenes from the splendid Congreve's plays [1]—which are undeniably bright, witty, and

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[1] The scene of Valentine's pretended madness in *Love for Love* is a splendid specimen of Congreve's daring manner:—

Scandal.—And have you given your master a hint of their plot upon him?

Jeremy.—Yes, Sir; he says he'll favour it, and mistake her for *Angelica.*

Scandal.—It may make us sport.

Foresight.—Mercy on us!

Valentine.—Husht—interrupt me not—I'll whisper prediction to thee, and thou shalt prophesie;—I am truth, and can teach thy tongue a new trick,—I have told thee what's past—now I'll tell what's to come:—Dost thou know what will happen to-morrow? Answer me not—for I will tell thee. To-morrow knaves will thrive thro' craft, and fools thro' fortune; and honesty will go as it did, frost-nipt in a summer suit. Ask me questions concerning to-morrow.

Scandal.—Ask him, *Mr. Foresight.*

Foresight.—Pray what will be done at Court?

Valentine.—*Scandal* will tell you;—I am truth, I never come there.

Foresight.—In the city?

Valentine.—Oh, prayers will be said in empty churches at the usual hours. Yet you will see such zealous faces behind counters,

daring—any more than I could ask you to hear the dialogue of a witty bargeman and a brilliant fishwoman

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as if religion were to be sold in every shop. Oh, things will go methodically in the city, the clocks will strike twelve at noon, and the horn'd herd buzz in the Exchange at two. Husbands and wives will drive distinct trades, and care and pleasure separately occupy the family. Coffee-houses will be full of smoke and stratagem. And the cropt prentice that sweeps his master's shop in the morning, may, ten to one, dirty his sheets before night. But there are two things, that you will see very strange; which are, wanton wives with their legs at liberty, and tame cuckolds with chains about their necks. But hold, I must examine you before I go further; you look suspiciously. Are you a husband?

Foresight.—I am married.

Valentine.—Poor creature! Is your wife of Covent Garden Parish?

Foresight.—No; St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

Valentine.—Alas, poor man! his eyes are sunk, and his hands shrivelled; his legs dwindled, and his back bow'd. Pray, pray, for a metamorphosis—change thy shape, and shake off age; get thee *Medea's* kettle and be boiled anew; come forth with lab'ring callous hands, a chine of steel, and *Atlas'* shoulders. Let Taliacotius trim the calves of twenty chairmen, and make thee pedestals to stand erect upon, and look matrimony in the face. Ha, ha, ha! That a man should have a stomach to a wedding supper, when the pigeons ought rather to be laid to his feet! ha, ha, ha!

Foresight.—His frenzy is very high now, *Mr. Scandal.*

Scandal.—I believe it is a spring-tide.

Foresight.—Very likely—truly; you understand these matters. *Mr. Scandal,* I shall be very glad to confer with you about these things which he has uttered. His sayings are very mysterious and hieroglyphical.

Valentine.—Oh! why would *Angelica* be absent from my eyes so long?

Jeremy.—She's here, Sir.

Mrs. Foresight.—Now, Sister!

Mrs. Frail.—O Lord! what must I say?

Scandal.—Humour him, Madam, by all means.

Valentine.—Where is she? Oh! I see her; she comes, like Riches, Health, and Liberty at once, to a despairing, starving, and abandoned wretch. Oh—welcome, welcome!

Mrs. Frail.—How d'ye, Sir? Can I serve you?

Valentine.—Hark'ee—I have a secret to tell you. *Endymion* and the moon shall meet us upon *Mount Latmos,* and we'll be married in the dead of night. But say not a word. *Hymen*

exchanging compliments at Billingsgate; but some of his verses—they were amongst the most famous lyrics of the

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shall put his torch into a dark lanthorn, that it may be secret; and Juno shall give her peacock poppy-water, that he may fold his ogling tail; and Argus's hundred eyes be shut—ha! Nobody shall know, but *Jeremy*.

Mrs. Frail.—No, no; we'll keep it secret; it shall be done presently.

Valentine.—The sooner the better. *Jeremy*, come hither—closer—that none may overhear us. *Jeremy*, I can tell you news; *Angelica* is turned nun, and I am turning friar, and yet we'll marry one another in spite of the Pope. Get me a cowl and beads, that I may play my part; for she'll meet me two hours hence in black and white, and a long veil to cover the project, and we won't see one another's faces 'till we have done something to be ashamed of, and then we'll blush once for all. . . .

Enter TATTLE *and* ANGELICA.

. . . . . .

Tattle.—Do you know me, *Valentine?*

Valentine.—You!—who are you? No, I hope not.

Tattle.—I am *Jack Tattle*, your friend.

Valentine.—My friend! What to do? I am no married man, and thou canst not lye with my wife; I am very poor, and thou canst not borrow money of me. Then, what employment have I for a friend?

Tattle.—Hah! A good open speaker, and not to be trusted with a secret.

Angelica.—Do you know me, *Valentine?*

Valentine.—Oh, very well.

Angelica.—Who am I?

Valentine.—You're a woman, one to whom Heaven gave beauty when it grafted roses on a briar. You are the reflection of Heaven in a pond; and he that leaps at you is sunk. You are all white—a sheet of lovely spotless paper—when you first are born; but you are to be scrawled and blotted by every goose's quill. I know you; for I loved a woman, and loved her so long that I found out a strange thing: I found out what a woman was good for.

Tattle.—Ay! pr'ythee, what's that?

Valentine.—Why, to keep a secret.

Tattle.—O Lord!

Valentine.—Oh, exceeding good to keep a secret; for, though she should tell, yet she is not to be believed.

Tattle.—Hah! Good again, faith.

Valentine.—I would have musick. Sing me the song that

time, and pronounced equal to Horace by his contemporaries—may give an idea of his power, of his grace, of

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I like.—CONGREVE, *Love for Love.* [Act iv, Sc. iii; in old editions Sc. xv and xvi.]

There is a *Mrs. Nickleby*, of the year 1700, in Congreve's comedy of *The Double Dealer*, in whose character the author introduces some wonderful traits of roguish satire. She is practised on by the gallants of the play, and no more knows how to resist them than any of the ladies above quoted could resist Congreve.

Lady Plyant.—Oh, reflect upon the horror of your conduct! Offering to pervert me [the joke is that the gentleman is pressing the lady for her daughter's hand, not for her own]—perverting me from the road of virtue, in which I have trod thus long, and never made one trip—not one *faux pas.* Oh, consider it; what would you have to answer for, if you should provoke me to frailty! Alas! humanity is feeble, Heaven knows! Very feeble, and unable to support itself.

Mellefont.—Where am I? Is it day? and am I awake? Madam—

. . . . . .

Lady Plyant.—O Lord, ask me the question! I'll swear . . . I'll deny it—therefore don't ask me: nay, you shan't ask me, I swear I'll deny it. O Gemini, you have brought all the blood into my face; I warrant I am as red as a turkey-cock; O fie, cousin Mellefont!

Mellefont.—Nay, madam, hear me; I mean——

Lady Plyant.—Hear you? No, no; I'll deny you first, and hear you afterward. For one does not know how one's mind may change upon hearing—hearing is one of the senses, and all the senses are fallible. I won't trust my honour, I assure you; my honour is infallible and uncomatable.

Mellefont.—For heaven's sake, madam——

Lady Plyant.—Oh, name it no more. Bless me, how can you talk of Heaven, and have so much wickedness in your heart? May be, you don't think it a sin. They say some of you gentlemen don't think it a sin; . . . but still, my honour, if it were no sin——. But, then, to marry my daughter for the conveniency of frequent opportunitics—I'll never consent to that: as sure as can be, I'll break the match.

Mellefont.—Death and amazement! Madam, upon my knees——

Lady Plyant.—Nay, nay, rise up; come, you shall see my good nature. I know love is powerful, and nobody can help his passion. 'Tis not your fault; nor I swear, it is not mine. How can I help it, if I have charms? And how can you help it, if you are made a captive? I swear it is pity it should be

his daring manner, his magnificence in compliment, and his polished sarcasm. He writes as if he was so accustomed to conquer, that he has a poor opinion of his victims. Nothing's new except their faces, says he: 'every woman is the same.' He says this in his first comedy, which he wrote languidly[1] in illness, when he was an 'excellent young man'. Richelieu at eighty could have hardly said a more excellent thing.

When he advances to make one of his conquests it is with a splendid gallantry, in full uniform and with the fiddles playing, like Grammont's French dandies attacking the breach of Lerida.

'Cease, cease to ask her name,' he writes of a young lady at the Wells at Tunbridge, whom he salutes with a magnificent compliment—

> Cease, cease to ask her name,
> The crowned Muse's noblest theme,
> Whose glory by immortal fame
> Shall only sounded be.
> But if you long to know,
> Then look round yonder dazzling row,
> Who most does like an angel show
> You may be sure 'tis she.

Here are lines about another beauty, who perhaps was

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a fault; but, my honour. Well, but your honour, too—but the sin! Well, but the necessity. O Lord, here's somebody coming. I dare not stay. Well, you must consider of your crime; and strive as much as can be against it—strive, be sure; but don't be melancholick—don't despair; but never think that I'll grant you anything. O Lord, no; but be sure you lay aside all thoughts of the marriage, for though I know you don't love Cynthia, only as a blind for your passion to me; yet it will make me jealous. O Lord, what did I say? Jealous! No, no, I can't be jealous; for I must not love you; therefore don't hope; but don't despair neither. O, they're coming; I *must* fly.—*The Double Dealer*, Act II, Scene i; [in old editions Sc. v].

[1] 'There seems to be a strange affectation in authors of appearing to have done everything by chance. *The Old Bachelor* was written for amusement in the languor of convalescence. Yet it is apparently composed with great elaborateness of dialogue, and incessant ambition of wit.'—JOHNSON [*Life of Congreve*, p. 44].

not so well pleased at the poet's manner of celebrating her—

When Lesbia first I saw, so heavenly fair,
With eyes so bright and with that awful air,
I thought my heart which durst so high aspire
As bold as his who snatched celestial fire.
But soon as e'er the beauteous idiot spoke,
Forth from her coral lips such folly broke;
Like balm the trickling nonsense heal'd my wound,
And what her eyes enthralled, her tongue unbound.

Amoret is a cleverer woman than the lovely Lesbia, but the poet does not seem to respect one much more than the other; and describes both with exquisite satirical humour—

Fair Amoret is gone astray,
Pursue and seek her every lover;
I'll tell the signs by which you may
The wandering shepherdess discover.
Coquet and coy at once her air,
Both studied, though both seem neglected;
Careless she is with artful care,
Affecting to seem unaffected.
With skill her eyes dart every glance,
Yet change so soon you'd ne'er suspect them;
For she'd persuade they wound by chance,
Though certain aim and art direct them.
She likes herself, yet others hates
For that which in herself she prizes;
And, while she laughs at them, forgets
She is the thing which she despises.

What could Amoret have done to bring down such shafts of ridicule upon her? Could she have resisted the irresistible Mr. Congreve? Could anybody? Could Sabina, when she woke and heard such a bard singing under her window? See, he writes—

See! see, she wakes—Sabina wakes!
And now the sun begins to rise:
Less glorious is the morn, that breaks
From his bright beams, than her fair eyes.

With light united, day they give ;
But different fates ere night fulfil :
How many by his warmth will live !
How many will her coldness kill !

Are you melted ? Don't you think him a divine man ? If not touched by the brilliant Sabina, hear the devout Selinda :—

Pious Selinda goes to prayers,
If I but ask the favour ;
And yet the tender fool's in tears,
When she believes I'll leave her.
Would I were free from this restraint,
Or else had hopes to win her :
Would she could make of me a saint,
Or I of her a sinner !

What a conquering air there is about these ! What an irresistible Mr. Congreve it is ! Sinner ! of course he will be a sinner, the delightful rascal ! Win her ! of course he will win her, the victorious rogue ! He knows he will : he must—with such a grace, with such a fashion, with such a splendid embroidered suit—you see him with red-heeled shoes deliciously turned out, passing a fair jewelled hand through his dishevelled periwig, and delivering a killing ogle along with his scented billet. And Sabina ? What a comparison that is between the nymph and the sun ! The sun gives Sabina the *pas*, and does not venture to rise before her ladyship : the morn's *bright beams* are less glorious than her *fair eyes :* but before night everybody will be frozen by her glances : everybody but one lucky rogue who shall be nameless ! Louis Quatorze in all his glory is hardly more splendid than our Phoebus Apollo of the Mall and Spring Garden.[1]

[1] 'Among those by whom it ("Will's") was frequented, Southerne and Congreve were principally distinguished by Dryden's friendship. . . . But Congreve seems to have gained yet farther than Southerne upon Dryden's friendship. He was introduced to him by his first play, the celebrated *Old Bachelor* being put into the poet's hands to be revised. Dryden, after

When Voltaire came to visit the great Congreve, the latter rather affected to despise his literary reputation, and in this perhaps the great Congreve was not far wrong.[1] A touch of Steele's tenderness is worth all his finery—a flash of Swift's lightning—a beam of Addison's pure sunshine, and his tawdry play-house taper is invisible. But the ladies loved him, and he was undoubtedly a pretty fellow.[2]

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making a few alterations to fit it for the stage, returned it to the author with the high and just commendation, that it was the best first play he had ever seen.'—SCOTT'S *Dryden*, vol. i, p. 369. [Sect. 7, second edition 1821.]

[1] It was in Surrey Street, Strand (where he afterwards died), that Voltaire visited him, in the decline of his life. The anecdote in the text, relating to his saying that he wished to be visited on no other footing than as a gentleman who led a life of plainness and simplicity', is common to all writers on the subject of Congreve, and appears in the English version of Voltaire's *Letters concerning the English Nation*, published in London, 1733 [in Letter 19, immediately after the extract given below], as also in Goldsmith's *Memoir of Voltaire*. But it is worthy of remark, that it does not appear in the text of the same Letters in the edition of Voltaire's *Œuvres Complètes* in the *Panthéon Littéraire*. Vol. v. of his works. (Paris, 1837.)

'Celui de tous les Anglais qui a porté le plus loin la gloire du théâtre comique est feu M. Congreve. Il n'a fait que peu de pièces, mais toutes sont excellentes dans leur genre. . . . Vous y voyez partout le langage des honnêtes gens avec des actions de fripon; ce qui prouve qu'il connaissait bien son monde, et qu'il vivait dans ce qu'on appelle la bonne compagnie.'—VOLTAIRE, *Lettres sur les Anglais*, Let. 19.

[2] On the death of Queen Mary, he published a Pastoral—'The Mourning Muse of Alexis.' Alexis and Menalcas sing alternately in the orthodox way. The Queen is called PASTORA.

> 'I mourn PASTORA dead, let Albion mourn,
> And sable clouds her chalky cliffs adorn,'

says Alexis. Among other phenomena, we learn that—

> With their sharp nails themselves the Satyrs wound,
> And tug their shaggy beards, and bite with grief the ground,—

(a degree of sensibility not always found in the Satyrs of that period!) . . . It continues—

> [See the Great Shepherd, chief of all the swains,]
> Lord of these woods and wide extended plains,

We have seen in Swift a humorous philosopher, whose truth frightens one, and whose laughter makes one melan-

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Stretch'd on the ground and close to earth his face,
Scalding with tears the already faded grass.

. . . . . .

To dust must all that heaven of beauty come?
And must Pastora moulder in the tomb?
Ah Death! more fierce and unrelenting far,
Than wildest wolves or savage tigers are;
With lambs and sheep their hungers are appeased,
But ravenous Death the shepherdess has seized.

This statement that a wolf eats but a sheep, whilst Death eats a shepherdess; that figure of the 'Great Shepherd', lying speechless on his stomach, in a state of despair which neither winds nor floods nor air can exhibit, are to be remembered in poetry surely, and this style was admired in its time by the admirers of the great Congreve!

In the 'Tears of Amaryllis for Amyntas' (the young Lord Blandford, the great Duke of Marlborough's only son), Amaryllis represents Sarah Duchess!

The tigers and wolves, nature and motion, rivers and echoes, come into work here again. At the sight of her grief—

Tigers and wolves their wonted rage forgo,
And dumb distress and new compassion show.

. . . . . .

Nature herself attentive silence kept,
And motion seemed suspended while she wept!

And Pope dedicated the *Iliad* to the author of these lines—and Dryden wrote to him in his great hand:

Time, place, and action may with pains be wrought,
But Genius must be born and never can be taught.
This is your portion, this your native store;
Heaven, that but once was prodigal before,
To SHAKESPEARE gave as much, she could not give him more.
Maintain your Post: that's all the fame you need,
For 'tis impossible you should proceed;
Already I am worn with cares and age,
And just abandoning th' ungrateful stage:
Unprofitably kept at Heaven's expence,
I live a Rent-charge on his Providence:
But you whom every Muse and Grace adorn,
Whom I foresee to better fortune born,
Be kind to my remains, and oh defend
Against your Judgement your departed Friend!
Let not the insulting Foe my Fame pursue;
But shade those Laurels which descend to You:

choly. We have had in Congreve a humorous observer of another school, to whom the world seems to have no moral at all, and whose ghastly doctrine seems to be that we should eat, drink, and be merry when we can, and go to the deuce (if there be a deuce) when the time comes. We come now to a humour that flows from quite a different heart and spirit—a wit that makes us laugh and leaves us good and happy ; to one of the kindest benefactors that society has ever had, and I believe you have divined already that I am about to mention ADDISON'S honoured name.

From reading over his writings, and the biographies which we have of him, amongst which the famous article in the *Edinburgh Review* [1] may be cited as a magnificent

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And take for Tribute what these Lines express ;
You merit more, nor could my Love do less.

This is a very different manner of welcome to that of our own day. In Shadwell, Higgons, Congreve, and the comic authors of their time, when gentlemen meet they fall into each other's arms, with 'Jack, Jack, I must buss thee' ; or, 'Fore George, Harry, I must kiss thee, lad'. And in a similar manner the poets saluted their brethren. Literary gentlemen do not kiss now ; I wonder if they love each other better.

Steele calls Congreve 'Great Sir' and 'Great Author' ; says 'Well-dressed barbarians knew his awful name', and addresses him as if he were a prince ; and speaks of *Pastora* as one of the most famous tragic compositions.

[1] 'To Addison himself we are bound by a sentiment as much like affection as any sentiment can be which is inspired by one who has been sleeping a hundred and twenty years in Westminster Abbey. . . . After full inquiry and impartial reflection we have long been convinced that he deserved as much love and esteem as can be justly claimed by any of our infirm and erring race.'—MACAULAY. [*Essay on Addison.*]

'Many who praise virtue do no more than praise it. Yet it is reasonable to believe that Addison's professions and practice were at no great variance ; since, amidst that storm of faction in which most of his life was passed, though his station made him conspicuous, and his activity made him formidable, the character given him by his friends was never contradicted by his enemies. Of those with whom interest or opinion united him, he had not only the esteem but the kindness ; and of others, whom the violence of opposition drove against him, though he might lose the love, he retained the reverence.'—JOHNSON. [*Life of Addison*, p. 386.]

statue of the great writer and moralist of the last age, raised by the love and the marvellous skill and genius of one of the most illustrious artists of our own; looking at that calm, fair face, and clear countenance—those chiselled features pure and cold, I can't but fancy that this great man, in this respect, like him of whom we spoke in the last lecture, was also one of the lonely ones of the world. Such men have very few equals, and they don't herd with those. It is in the nature of such lords of intellect to be solitary—they are in the world but not of it; and our minor struggles, brawls, successes, pass under them.

Kind, just, serene, impartial, his fortitude not tried beyond easy endurance, his affections not much used, for his books were his family, and his society was in public; admirably wiser, wittier, calmer, and more instructed than almost every man with whom he met, how could Addison suffer, desire, admire, feel much? I may expect a child to admire me for being taller or writing more cleverly than she; but how can I ask my superior to say that I am a wonder when he knows better than I? In Addison's days you could scarcely show him a literary performance, a sermon, or a poem, or a piece of literary criticism, but he felt he could do better. His justice must have made him indifferent. He didn't praise, because he measured his compeers by a higher standard than common people have.[1] How was he who was so tall to look up to any but the loftiest genius? He must have stooped to put himself on a level with most men. By that profusion of graciousness and smiles, with which Goethe or Scott, for instance, greeted almost every literary beginner, every small literary adventurer who came to his court and went away charmed from the great king's audience, and cuddling to his heart the compliment which His Literary Majesty had paid him—each

[1] 'Addison was perfect good company with intimates, and had something more charming in his conversation than I ever knew in any other man; but with any mixture of strangers, and sometimes only with one, he seemed to preserve his dignity much, with a stiff sort of silence.'—Pope (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 50.]

of the two good-natured potentates of letters brought his star and ribbon into discredit. Everybody had his Majesty's orders. Everybody had his Majesty's cheap portrait, on a box surrounded with diamonds worth twopence apiece. A very great and just and wise man ought not to praise indiscriminately, but give his idea of the truth. Addison praises the ingenious Mr. Pinkethman: Addison praises the ingenious Mr. Doggett the actor, whose benefit is coming off that night: Addison praises Don Saltero: Addison praises Milton with all his heart, bends his knee and frankly pays homage to that imperial genius.[1] But between those degrees of his men his praise is very scanty. I don't think the great Mr. Addison liked young Mr. Pope, the Papist, much; I don't think he abused him. But when Mr. Addison's men abused Mr. Pope, I don't think Addison took his pipe out of his mouth to contradict them.[2]

Addison's father was a clergyman of good repute in Wiltshire, and rose in the Church.[3] His famous son never lost his clerical training and scholastic gravity, and was

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[1] 'Milton's chief talent, and indeed his distinguishing excellence lies in the sublimity of his thoughts. There are others of the moderns, who rival him in every other part of poetry; but in the greatness of his sentiments he triumphs over all the poets, both modern and ancient, Homer alone excepted. It is impossible for the imagination of man to distend itself with greater ideas than those which he has laid together in his first, second, and sixth books.'—*Spectator*, No. 279.

'If I were to name a poet that is a perfect master in all these arts of working on the imagination, I think Milton may pass for one.'—Ibid., No. 417.

These famous papers appeared in each Saturday's *Spectator*, from January 5 to May 3, 1712. Besides his services to Milton, we may place those he did to Sacred Music.

[2] 'Addison was very kind to me at first, but my bitter enemy afterwards.'—Pope (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 47.]

'"Leave him as soon as you can," said Addison to me, speaking of Pope; "he will certainly play you some devilish trick else: he has an appetite to satire."'—Lady Wortley Montagu (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 237.]

[3] Lancelot Addison, his father, was the son of another Lancelot Addison, a clergyman in Westmoreland. He became Dean of Lichfield and Archdeacon of Coventry.

called 'a parson in a tye-wig'[1] in London afterwards at a time when tye-wigs were only worn by the laity, and the fathers of theology did not think it decent to appear except in a full bottom. Having been at school at Salisbury and the Charterhouse, in 1687, when he was fifteen years old, he went to Queen's College, Oxford, where he speedily began to distinguish himself by the making of Latin verses. The beautiful and fanciful poem of *The Pigmies and the Cranes* is still read by lovers of that sort of exercise; and verses are extant in honour of King William, by which it appears that it was the loyal youth's custom to toast that sovereign in bumpers of purple Lyacus; and many more works are in the Collection, including one on the Peace of Ryswick, in 1697, which was so good that Montague got him a pension of 300*l.* a year, on which Addison set out on his travels.

During his ten years at Oxford, Addison had deeply imbued himself with the Latin poetical literature, and had these poets at his fingers' ends when he travelled in Italy.[2] His patron went out of office, and his pension was

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[1] 'The remark of Mandeville, who, when he had passed an evening in his company, declared that he was "a parson in a tye-wig", can detract little from his character. He was always reserved to strangers, and was not incited to uncommon freedom by a character like that of Mandeville.'—JOHNSON. [*Life of Addison*, p. 384.]

'Old Jacob Tonson did not like Mr. Addison: he had a quarrel with him, and, after his quitting the secretaryship, used frequently to say of him—"One day or other you'll see that man a bishop—I'm sure he looks that way; and indeed I ever thought him a priest in his heart."'—POPE (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 200.]

'Mr. Addison stayed above a year at Blois. He would rise as early as between two and three in the height of summer, and lie abed till between eleven and twelve in the depth of winter. He was untalkative whilst here, and often thoughtful: sometimes so lost in thought, that I have come into his room and stayed five minutes there before he has known anything of it. He had his masters generally at supper with him; kept very little company beside; and had no amour whilst here that I know of; and I think I should have known it, if he had had any.'—ABBÉ PHILIPPEAUX of Blois (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 184.]

[2] 'His knowledge of the Latin poets, from Lucretius and Catullus down to Claudian and Prudentius, was singularly exact and profound.'—MACAULAY. [*Essay on Addison.*]

unpaid: and hearing that this great scholar, now eminent and known to the *literati* of Europe (the great Boileau,[1] upon perusal of Mr. Addison's elegant hexameters, was first made aware that England was not altogether a barbarous nation)—hearing that the celebrated Mr. Addison, of Oxford, proposed to travel as governor to a young gentleman on the grand tour, the great Duke of Somerset proposed to Mr. Addison to accompany his son, Lord Hartford.

Mr. Addison was delighted to be of use to his Grace and his lordship, his Grace's son, and expressed himself ready to set forth.

His Grace the Duke of Somerset now announced to one of the most famous scholars of Oxford and Europe that it was his gracious intention to allow my Lord Hartford's tutor one hundred guineas per annum. Mr. Addison wrote back that his services were his Grace's, but he by no means found his account in the recompense for them. The negotiation was broken off. They parted with a profusion of *congées* on one side and the other.

Addison remained abroad for some time, living in the best society of Europe. How could he do otherwise? He must have been one of the finest gentlemen the world ever saw: at all moments of life serene and courteous, cheerful and calm.[2] He could scarcely ever have had a degrading thought. He might have omitted a virtue or two, or many, but could not have had many faults committed for which he need blush or turn pale. When warmed into confidence, his conversation appears to have been so delightful that the greatest wits sat rapt and charmed to listen to him. No man bore poverty and narrow fortune with a more lofty cheerfulness. His letters to his

[1] 'Our country owes it to him, that the famous Monsieur Boileau first conceived an opinion of the English genius for poetry, by perusing the present he made him of the *Musae Anglicanae*.'—TICKELL (Preface to *Addison's Works*).

[2] 'It was my fate to be much with the wits; my father was acquainted with all of them. *Addison was the best company in the world.* I never knew anybody that had so much wit as Congreve.'—LADY WORTLEY MONTAGU (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 232.]

friends at this period of his life, when he had lost his Government pension and given up his college chances, are full of courage and a gay confidence and philosophy: and they are none the worse in my eyes, and I hope not in those of his last and greatest biographer (though Mr. Macaulay is bound to own and lament a certain weakness for wine, which the great and good Joseph Addison notoriously possessed, in common with countless gentlemen of his time), because some of the letters are written when his honest hand was shaking a little in the morning after libations to purple Lyaeus overnight. He was fond of drinking the healths of his friends: he writes to Wyche,[1] of Hamburgh, gratefully remembering

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[1] MR. ADDISON TO MR. WYCHE.

'DEAR SIR,

'My hand at present begins to grow steady enough for a letter, so that the properest use I can put it to is to thank ye honest gentleman that set it a shaking. I have had this morning a desperate design in my head to attack you in verse, which I should certainly have done could I have found out a rhime to rummer. But though you have escaped for ye present, you are not yet out of danger, if I can a little recover my talent at Crambo. I am sure, in whatever way I write to you, it will be impossible for me to express ye deep sense I have of ye many favours you have lately shown me. I shall only tell you that Hambourg has been the pleasantest stage I have met with in my travails. If any of my friends wonder at me for living so long in that place, I dare say it will be thought a very good excuse when I tell 'em Mr. Wyche was there. As your company made our stay at Hambourg agreeable, your wine has given us all ye satisfaction that we have found in our journey through Westphalia. If drinking your health will do you any good, you may expect to be as long lived as Methuselah, or, to use a more familiar instance, as ye oldest hoc in ye cellar. I hope ye two pair of legs that we left a swelling behind us are by this time come to their shapes again. I can't forbear troubling you with my hearty respects to ye owners of 'em, and desiring you to believe me always,

'Dear Sir,

'Yours, &c.

'To Mr. Wyche, Her Majesty's Resident at Hambourg,
'May, 1703.'

—From *The Life of Addison*, by MISS AIKIN, vol. i, p. 145.

Wyche's 'hoc'. 'I have been drinking your health to-day with Sir Richard Shirley,' he writes to Bathurst. 'I have lately had the honour to meet my Lord Effingham at Amsterdam, where we have drunk Mr. Wood's health a hundred times in excellent champagne,' he writes again. Swift[1] describes him over his cups, when Joseph yielded to a temptation which Jonathan resisted. Joseph was of a cold nature, and needed perhaps the fire of wine to warm his blood. If he was a parson, he wore a tye-wig, recollect. A better and more Christian man scarcely ever breathed than Joseph Addison. If he had not that little weakness for wine—why, we could

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[1] It is pleasing to remember that the relation between Swift and Addison was, on the whole, satisfactory, from first to last. The value of Swift's testimony, when nothing personal inflamed his vision or warped his judgement, can be doubted by nobody.

'Sept. 10, 1710.—I sat till ten in the evening with Addison and Steele.

'11.—Mr. Addison and I dined together at his lodgings, and I sat with him part of this evening.

'18.—To-day I dined with Mr. Stratford at Mr. Addison's retirement near Chelsea. . . . I will get what good offices I can from Mr. Addison.

'27.—To-day all our company dined at Will Frankland's, with Steele and Addison, too.

'29.—I dined with Mr. Addison,' &c.—*Journal to Stella.*

Addison inscribed a presentation copy of his *Travels* 'To Dr. Jonathan Swift, the most agreeable companion, the truest friend, and the greatest genius of his age.'—Scott. [*Life of Swift*, Sect. 2, p. 92.] From the information of Mr. Theophilus Swift.

'Mr. Addison, who goes over first secretary, is a most excellent person; and being my most intimate friend, I shall use all my credit to set him right in his notions of persons and things.'—*Letter* [*to Archbishop King*, Jan. 6, 1708–9].

'I examine my heart, and can find no other reason why I write to you now, beside that great love and esteem I have always had for you. I have nothing to ask you either for any friend or for myself.'—Swift to Addison [July 9,] (1717), Scott's *Swift*, vol. xix, p. 274.

Political differences only dulled for a while their friendly communications. Time renewed them; and Tickell enjoyed Swift's friendship as a legacy from the man with whose memory his is so honourably connected.

scarcely have found a fault with him, and could not have liked him as we do.[1]

At thirty-three years of age, this most distinguished wit, scholar, and gentleman was without a profession and an income. His book of *Travels* had failed: his *Dialogues on Medals* had had no particular success: his Latin verses, even though reported the best since Virgil, or Statius at any rate, had not brought him a Government place, and Addison was living up two shabby pair of stairs in the Haymarket (in a poverty over which old Samuel Johnson rather chuckles), when in these shabby rooms an emissary from Government and Fortune came and found him.[2] A poem was wanted about the Duke of Marlborough's victory of Blenheim. Would Mr. Addison write one? Mr. Boyle, afterwards Lord Carleton, took back the reply to the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, that Mr. Addison would. When the poem had reached a certain stage, it was carried to Godolphin; and the last lines which he read were these:

> But O my muse! what numbers wilt thou find
> To sing the furious troops in battle join'd?
> Methinks I hear the drum's tumultuous sound,
> The victors' shouts and dying groans confound,
> The dreadful burst of cannon rend the skies,
> And all the thunder of the battle rise.
> 'Twas then great Marlborough's mighty soul was proved,
> That, in the shock of charging hosts unmoved,
> Amidst confusion, horror, and despair,
> Examined all the dreadful scenes of war:

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[1] 'Addison usually studied all the morning; then met his party at Button's; dined there, and stayed five or six hours, and sometimes far into the night. I was of the company for about a year, but found it too much for me: it hurt my health, and so I quitted it.'—POPE (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 286.]

[2] 'When he returned to England (in 1702), with a meanness of appearance which gave testimony of the difficulties to which he had been reduced, he found his old patrons out of power, and was, therefore, for a time, at full leisure for the cultivation of his mind.'—JOHNSON. [*Life of Addison*, p. 338.]

In peaceful thought the field of death surveyed,
To fainting squadrons sent the timely aid,
Inspired repulsed battalions to engage,
And taught the doubtful battle where to rage.
So when an angel by divine command,
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land
(Such as of late o'er pale Britannia passed),
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast;
And, pleased the Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.

Addison left off at a good moment. That simile was pronounced to be of the greatest ever produced in poetry. That angel, that good angel, flew off with Mr. Addison, and landed him in the place of Commissioner of Appeals —vice Mr. Locke providentially promoted. In the following year, Mr. Addison went to Hanover with Lord Halifax, and the year after was made Under-Secretary of State. O angel visits! you come few and far between to literary gentlemen's lodgings! Your wings seldom quiver at second-floor windows now!

You laugh? You think it is in the power of few writers nowadays to call up such an angel? Well, perhaps not; but permit us to comfort ourselves by pointing out that there are in the poem of *The Campaign* some as bad lines as heart can desire: and to hint that Mr. Addison did very wisely in not going further with my Lord Godolphin than that angelical simile. Do allow me, just for a little harmless mischief, to read you some of the lines which follow. Here is the interview between the Duke and the King of the Romans after the battle:—

Austria's young monarch, whose imperial sway
Sceptres and thrones are destined to obey,
Whose boasted ancestry so high extends
That in the pagan gods his lineage ends,
Comes from afar, in gratitude to own
The great supporter of his father's throne.
What tides of glory to his bosom ran,
Clasped in th' embraces of the godlike man!

How were his eyes with pleasing wonder fixt,
To see such fire with so much sweetness mixt!
Such easy greatness, such a graceful port,
So turn'd and finished for the camp or court!

How many fourth-form boys at Mr. Addison's school of Charterhouse could write as well as that now? *The Campaign* has blunders, triumphant as it was; and weak points like all campaigns.[1]

In the year 1713 *Cato* came out. Swift has left a description of the first night of the performance. All the laurels of Europe were scarcely sufficient for the author of this prodigious poem.[2] Laudations of Whig

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[1] 'Mr. Addison wrote very fluently; but he was sometimes very slow and scrupulous in correcting. He would show his verses to several friends; and would alter almost everything that any of them hinted at as wrong. He seemed to be too diffident of himself; and too much concerned about his character as a poet; or (as he worded it) too solicitous for that kind of praise, which, God knows, is but a very little matter after all!' —POPE (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 49.]

[2] 'As to poetical affairs,' says Pope, in 1713, 'I am content at present to be a bare looker-on.... Cato was not so much the wonder of Rome in his days, as he is of Britain in ours; and though all the foolish industry possible has been used to make it thought a party play, yet what the author once said of another may the most properly in the world be applied to him on this occasion:—

'Envy itself is dumb—in wonder lost;
And factions strive who shall applaud him most.

'The numerous and violent claps of the Whig party on the one side of the theatre were echoed back by the Tories on the other; while the author sweated behind the scenes with concern to find their applause proceeding more from the hand than the head.... I believe you have heard that, after all the applauses of the opposite faction, my Lord Bolingbroke sent for Booth, who played Cato, into the box, ... and presented him with fifty guineas, in acknowledgement (as he expressed it) for defending the cause of liberty so well against a perpetual dictator.' —POPE'S *Letter to Sir W. Trumbull.* [Ap. 30, 1713.]

Cato ran for thirty-five nights without interruption. Pope wrote the Prologue, and Garth the Epilogue.

It is worth noticing how many things in *Cato* keep their ground as habitual quotations, e.g.:—

'... big with the fate
Of Cato and of Rome.'

and Tory chiefs, popular ovations, complimentary garlands from literary men, translations in all languages, delight and homage from all—save from John Dennis in a minority of one—Mr. Addison was called the great Mr. Addison after this. The Coffee-house Senate saluted him Divus: it was heresy to question that decree.

Meanwhile he was writing political papers and advancing in the political profession. He went Secretary to Ireland. He was appointed Secretary of State in 1717. And letters of his are extant, bearing date some year or two before, and written to young Lord Warwick, in which he addresses him as 'my dearest lord', and asks affectionately about his studies, and writes very prettily about nightingales, and birds'-nests, which he has found at Fulham for his lordship. Those nightingales were intended to warble in the ear of Lord Warwick's mamma. Addison married her ladyship in 1716; and died at Holland House three years after that splendid but dismal union.[1]

'"Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deserve it.'

'Blesses his stars, and thinks it luxury.'

'I think the Romans call it Stoicism.'

'My voice is still for war.'

'When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway,
The post of honour is a private station.'

Not to mention:—

'The woman that deliberates is lost,'

And the eternal:—

'Plato, thou reasonest well,'

which avenges, perhaps, on the public their neglect of the play!

[1] 'The lady was persuaded to marry him on terms much like those on which a Turkish princess is espoused—to whom the Sultan is reported to pronounce, "Daughter, I give thee this man for thy slave." The marriage, if uncontradicted report can be credited, made no addition to his happiness; it neither found them, nor made them, equal. . . . Rowe's ballad of *The Despairing Shepherd* is said to have been written, either before or after marriage, upon this memorable pair.'—Dr. Johnson. [*Life of Addison*, p. 567.]

'I received the news of Mr. Addison's being declared Secretary of State with the less surprise, in that I knew that post was

But it is not for his reputation as the great author of *Cato* and *The Campaign*, or for his merits as Secretary of State, or for his rank and high distinction as my Lady Warwick's husband, or for his eminence as an Examiner of political questions on the Whig side, or a Guardian of British liberties, that we admire Joseph Addison. It is as a Tatler of small talk and a Spectator of mankind, that we cherish and love him, and owe as much pleasure to him as to any human being that ever wrote. He came in that artificial age, and began to speak with his noble, natural voice. He came, the gentle satirist, who hit no unfair blow; the kind judge who castigated only in smiling. While Swift went about, hanging and ruthless —a literary Jeffreys—in Addison's kind court only minor cases were tried: only peccadilloes and small sins against society: only a dangerous libertinism in tuckers

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almost offered to him before. At that time he declined it, and I really believe that he would have done well to have declined it now. Such a post as that, and such a wife as the Countess, do not seem to be, in prudence, eligible for a man that is asthmatic, and we may see the day when he will be heartily glad to resign them both.'—Lady Wortley Montagu to Pope. [Sep. 1, 1717.] *Works*, Lord Wharncliffe's ed., vol. ii, p. 111.

The issue of this marriage was a daughter, Charlotte Addison, who inherited, on her mother's death, the estate of Bilton, near Rugby, which her father had purchased, and died, unmarried, at an advanced age. She was of weak intellect.

Rowe appears to have been faithful to Addison during his courtship, for his Collection contains 'Stanzas to Lady Warwick, on Mr. Addison's going to Ireland', in which her ladyship is called 'Chloe', and Joseph Addison, 'Lycidas'; besides the ballad mentioned by the doctor, and which is entitled *Colin's Complaint*. But not even the interest attached to the name of Addison could induce the reader to peruse this composition, though one stanza may serve as a specimen:—

> What though I have skill to complain—
> Though the Muses my temples have crowned;
> What though, when they hear my soft strain,
> The virgins sit weeping around.
>
> Ah, Colin! thy hopes are in vain;
> Thy pipe and thy laurel resign;
> Thy false one inclines to a swain
> Whose music is sweeter than thine.

and hoops;[1] or a nuisance in the abuse of beaux'

[1] One of the most humorous of these is the paper on Hoops, which, the *Spectator* tells us, particularly pleased his friend Sir Roger:

'Mr. Spectator—

'You have diverted the town almost a whole month at the expense of the country; it is now high time that you should give the country their revenge. Since your withdrawing from this place, the fair sex are run into great extravagances. Their petticoats, which began to heave and swell before you left us, are now blown up into a most enormous concave, and rise every day more and more; in short, sir, since our women know themselves to be out of the eye of the Spectator, they will be kept within no compass. You praised them a little too soon, for the modesty of their headdresses; for as the humour of a sick person is often driven out of one limb into another, their superfluity of ornaments, instead of being entirely banished, seems only fallen from their heads upon their lower parts. What they have lost in height they make up in breadth, and, contrary to all rules of architecture, widen the foundations at the same time that they shorten the superstructure. . . .

'The women give out, in defence of these wide bottoms, that they are airy and very proper for the season; but this I look upon to be only a pretence and a piece of art, for it is well known we have not had a more moderate summer these many years, so that it is certain the heat they complain of cannot be in the weather; besides, I would fain ask these tender-constitutioned ladies, why they should require more cooling than their mothers before them?

'I find several speculative persons are of opinion that our sex has of late years been very saucy, and that the hoop-petticoat is made use of to keep us at a distance. It is most certain that a woman's honour cannot be better entrenched than after this manner, in circle within circle, amidst such a variety of outworks and lines of circumvallation. A female who is thus invested in whalebone is sufficently secured against the approaches of an ill-bred fellow, who might as well think of Sir George Etheridge's way of making love in a tub as in the midst of so many hoops.

'Among these various conjectures, there are men of superstitious tempers who look upon the hoop-petticoat as a kind of prodigy. Some will have it that it portends the downfall of the *French* king, and observe, that the farthingale appeared in *England* a little before the ruin of the *Spanish* monarchy. Others are of opinion that it foretells battle and bloodshed, and believe it of the same prognostication as the tail of a blazing star. For my part, I am apt to think it is a sign that multitudes are coming into the world rather than going out of it,' &c. &c.—*Spectator*, No. 127.

canes and snuff-boxes. It may be a lady is tried for breaking the peace of our sovereign lady Queen Anne, and ogling too dangerously from the side-box: or a Templar for beating the watch, or breaking Priscian's head: or a citizen's wife for caring too much for the puppet-show, and too little for her husband and children: every one of the little sinners brought before him is amusing, and he dismisses each with the pleasantest penalties and the most charming words of admonition.

Addison wrote his papers as gaily as if he was going out for a holiday. When Steele's *Tatler* first began his prattle, Addison, then in Ireland, caught at his friend's notion, poured in paper after paper, and contributed the stores of his mind, the sweet fruits of his reading, the delightful gleanings of his daily observation, with a wonderful profusion, and as it seemed an almost endless fecundity. He was six-and-thirty years old: full and ripe. He had not worked crop after crop from his brain, manuring hastily, subsoiling indifferently, cutting and sowing and cutting again, like other luckless cultivators of letters. He had not done much as yet; a few Latin poems—graceful prolusions; a polite book of travels; a dissertation on medals, not very deep; four acts of a tragedy, a great classical exercise; and *The Campaign*, a large prize poem that won an enormous prize. But with his friend's discovery of the *Tatler*, Addison's calling was found, and the most delightful talker in the world began to speak. He does not go very deep: let gentlemen of a profound genius, critics accustomed to the plunge of the bathos, console themselves by thinking that he *couldn't* go very deep. There are no traces of suffering in his writing. He was so good, so honest, so healthy, so cheerfully selfish, if I must use the word. There is no deep sentiment. I doubt, until after his marriage, perhaps, whether he ever lost his night's rest or his day's tranquillity about any woman in his life: [1]

[1] 'Mr. Addison has not had one epithalamium that I can hear of, and must even be reduced, like a poorer and a better poet, Spenser, to make his own.'—POPE. *Letter [to Lady M. W. Montagu*, 1716].

whereas poor Dick Steele had capacity enough to melt, and to languish, and to sigh, and to cry his honest old eyes out, for a dozen. His writings do not show insight into or reverence for the love of women, which I take to be, one the consequence of the other. He walks about the world watching their pretty humours, fashions, follies, flirtations, rivalries; and noting them with the most charming archness. He sees them in public, in the theatre, or the assembly, or the puppet-show; or at the toy-shop higgling for gloves and lace; or at the auction, battling together over a blue porcelain dragon, or a darling monster in japan; or at church, eyeing the width of their rivals' hoops, or the breadth of their laces, as they sweep down the aisles. Or he looks out of his window at the 'Garter' in St. James's Street, at Ardelia's coach, as she blazes to the Drawing-room with her coronet and six footmen; and, remembering that her father was a Turkey merchant in the City, calculates how many sponges went to purchase her ear-ring, and how many drums of figs to build her coach-box; or he demurely watches behind a tree in Spring Garden as Saccharissa (whom he knows under her mask) trips out of her chair to the alley where Sir Fopling is waiting. He sees only the public life of women. Addison was one of the most resolute club-men of his day. He passed many hours daily in those haunts. Besides drinking, which, alas! is past praying for; it must be owned, ladies, that he indulged in that odious practice of smoking. Poor fellow! He was a man's man, remember. The only woman he *did* know, he didn't write about. I take it there would not have been much humour in that story.

He likes to go and sit in the smoking-room at the 'Grecian', or the 'Devil'; to pace 'Change and the Mall [1]—to mingle in that great club of the world—sitting

[1] 'I have observed that a reader seldom peruses a book with pleasure till he knows whether the writer of it be a black or a fair man, of a mild or choleric disposition, married or a bachelor; with other particulars of the like nature, that conduce very much to the right understanding of an author. To gratify this

alone in it somehow : having goodwill and kindness for every single man and woman in it—having need of some

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curiosity, which is so natural to a reader, I design this paper and my next as prefatory discourses to my following writings ; and shall give some account in them of the several persons that are engaged in this work. As the chief trouble of compiling, digesting, and correcting will fall to my share, I must do myself the justice to open the work with my own history. . . . There runs a story in the family, that when my mother was gone with child of me about three months, she dreamt that she was brought to bed of a judge. Whether this might proceed from a lawsuit which was then depending in the family, or my father's being a justice of the peace, I cannot determine ; for I am not so vain as to think it presaged any dignity that I should arrive at in my future life, though that was the interpretation which the neighbourhood put upon it. The gravity of my behaviour at my very first appearance in the world, and all the time that I sucked, seemed to favour my mother's dream ; for, as she has often told me, I threw away my rattle before I was two months old, and would not make use of my coral till they had taken away the bells from it.

'As for the rest of my infancy, there being nothing in it remarkable, I shall pass it over in silence. I find that during my nonage I had the reputation of a very sullen youth, but was always a favourite of my schoolmaster, who used to say that *my parts were solid and would wear well.* I had not been long at the university before I distinguished myself by a most profound silence ; for during the space of eight years, excepting in the public exercises of the college, I scarce uttered the quantity of an hundred words ; and, indeed, do not remember that I ever spoke three sentences together in my whole life. . . .

'I have passed my latter years in this city, where I am frequently seen in most public places, though there are not above half a dozen of my select friends that know me. . . . There is no place of general resort wherein I do not often make my appearance ; sometimes I am seen thrusting my head into a round of politicians at Will's, and listening with great attention to the narratives that are made in those little circular audiences. Sometimes I smoke a pipe at Child's, and whilst I seem attentive to nothing but the *Postman*, overhear the conversation of every table in the room. I appear on Sunday nights at St. James's Coffee-house ; and sometimes join the little committee of politics in the inner room, as one who comes there to hear and improve. My face is likewise very well known at the Grecian, the "Cocoa-Tree", and in the theatres both of Drury Lane and the Haymarket. I have been taken for a merchant upon the Exchange for above these ten years ; and sometimes pass for a Jew in

habit and custom binding him to some few ; never doing any man a wrong (unless it be a wrong to hint a little doubt about a man's parts, and to damn him with faint praise) ; and so he looks on the world and plays with the ceaseless humours of all of us—laughs the kindest laugh—points our neighbour's foible or eccentricity out to us with the most good-natured, smiling confidence ; and then, turning over his shoulder, whispers *our* foibles to our neighbour. What would Sir Roger de Coverley be without his follies and his charming little brain-cracks ?[1] If the good knight did not call out to the people sleeping in church, and say 'Amen' with such a delightful pomposity : if he did not make a speech in the assize-court *à propos de bottes*, and merely to show his dignity to Mr. Spectator :[2] if he did not

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the assembly of stock-jobbers at Jonathan's. In short, wherever I see a cluster of people, I always mix with them, though I never open my lips but in my own club.

'Thus I live in the world rather as a "*Spectator*" of mankind than as one of the species ; by which means I have made myself a speculative statesman, soldier, merchant, and artizan, without ever meddling with any practical part in life. I am very well versed in the theory of a husband or a father, and can discern the errors in the economy, business, and diversion of others, better than those who are engaged in them—as standers-by discover blots which are apt to escape those who are in the game. . . . In short, I have acted, in all the parts of my life, as a looker-on, which is the character I intend to preserve in this paper.'—*Spectator*, No. 1.

[1] 'So effectually, indeed, did he retort on vice the mockery which had recently been directed against virtue, that, since his time, the open violation of decency has always been considered among us as the mark of a fool.'—MACAULAY. [*Essay on Addison.*]

[2] 'The Court was sat before Sir Roger came ; but, notwithstanding all the justices had taken their places upon the bench, they made room for the old knight at the head of them ; who for his reputation in the country took occasion to whisper in the judge's ear that *he was glad his lordship had met with so much good weather in his circuit.* I was listening to the proceedings of the Court with much attention, and infinitely pleased with that great appearance and solemnity which so properly accompanies such a public administration of our laws ; when, after about an hour's sitting, I observed to my great surprise, in the midst of a trial, that my friend Sir Roger was getting

mistake Madam Doll Tearsheet for a lady of quality in Temple Garden: if he were wiser than he is: if he had not his humour to salt his life, and were but a mere English gentleman and game-preserver—of what worth were he to us? We love him for his vanities as much as his virtues. What is ridiculous is delightful in him: we are so fond of him because we laugh at him so. And out of that laughter, and out of that sweet weakness, and out of those harmless eccentricities and follies, and out of that touched brain, and out of that honest manhood and simplicity—we get a result of happiness, goodness, tenderness, pity, piety; such as, if my audience will think their reading and hearing over, doctors and divines but seldom have the fortune to inspire. And why not? Is the glory of Heaven to be sung only by gentlemen in black coats? Must the truth be only expounded in gown and surplice, and out of those two vestments can nobody preach it? Commend me to this dear preacher without orders—this parson in the tye-wig. When this man looks from the world whose weaknesses he describes so benevolently, up to the Heaven which shines over us all, I can hardly fancy a human face lighted up with a more serene rapture: a human intellect thrilling with a purer love and adoration than Joseph Addison's. Listen to him: from your childhood you have known the verses: but who can hear their sacred music without love and awe?—

> Soon as the evening shades prevail,
> The moon takes up the wondrous tale,
> And nightly to the listening earth
> Repeats the story of her birth;

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up to speak. I was in some pain for him, till I found he had acquitted himself of two or three sentences, with a look of much business and great intrepidity.

'Upon his first rising, the Court was hushed, and a general whisper ran among the country people that Sir Roger *was up*. The speech he made was so little to the purpose, that I shall not trouble my readers with an account of it, and I believe was not so much designed by the knight himself to inform the Court, as to give him a figure in my eye, and keep up his credit in the country.'—*Spectator*, No. 122.

Whilst all the stars that round her burn,
And all the planets in their turn,
Confirm the tidings as they roll,
And spread the truth from pole to pole.
What though, in solemn silence, all
Move round the dark terrestrial ball?
What though nor real voice nor sound
Amid their radiant orbs be found?
In reason's ear they all rejoice,
And utter forth a glorious voice,
For ever singing as they shine,
'The hand that made us is divine.'

It seems to me those verses shine like the stars. They shine out of a great deep calm. When he turns to Heaven, a Sabbath comes over that man's mind: and his face lights up from it with a glory of thanks and prayer. His sense of religion stirs through his whole being. In the fields, in the town: looking at the birds in the trees: at the children in the streets: in the morning or in the moonlight: over his books in his own room: in a happy party at a country merry-making or a town assembly, goodwill and peace to God's creatures, and love and awe of Him who made them, fill his pure heart and shine from his kind face. If Swift's life was the most wretched, I think Addison's was one of the most enviable. A life prosperous and beautiful—a calm death—an immense fame and affection afterwards for his happy and spotless name.[1]

[1] 'Garth sent to Addison (of whom he had a very high opinion) on his death-bed, to ask him whether the Christian religion was true.'—Dr. Young (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 2.]

'I have always preferred cheerfulness to mirth. The latter I consider as an act, the former as an habit of the mind. Mirth is short and transient, cheerfulness fixed and permanent. Those are often raised into the greatest transports of mirth who are subject to the greatest depressions of melancholy: on the contrary, cheerfulness, though it does not give the mind such an exquisite gladness, prevents us from falling into any depths of sorrow. Mirth is like a flash of lightning that breaks through a gloom of clouds, and glitters for a moment; cheerfulness keeps up a kind of daylight in the mind, and fills it with a steady and perpetual serenity.'—Addison, *Spectator*, No. 381.

LECTURE THE THIRD

STEELE

What do we look for in studying the history of a past age? Is it to learn the political transactions and characters of the leading public men? Is it to make ourselves acquainted with the life and being of the time? If we set out with the former grave purpose, where is the truth, and who believes that he has it entire? What character of what great man is known to you? You can but make guesses as to character more or less happy. In common life don't you often judge and misjudge a man's whole conduct, setting out from a wrong impression? The tone of a voice, a word said in joke, or a trifle in behaviour, the cut of his hair or the tie of his neckcloth, may disfigure him in your eyes, or poison your good opinion; or at the end of years of intimacy it may be your closest friend says something, reveals something which had previously been a secret, which alters all your views about him, and shows that he has been acting on quite a different motive to that which you fancied you knew. And if it is so with those you know, how much more with those you don't know? Say, for example, that I want to understand the character of the Duke of Marlborough. I read Swift's history of the times in which he took a part; the shrewdest of observers and initiated, one would think, into the politics of the age—he hints to me that Marlborough was a coward, and even of doubtful military capacity: he speaks of Walpole as a contemptible boor, and scarcely mentions, except to flout it, the great intrigue of the Queen's latter days, which was to have ended in bringing back the Pretender. Again, I read Marlborough's life by a copious archdeacon, who has the command of immense papers,

of sonorous language, of what is called the best information; and I get little or no insight into this secret motive which, I believe, influenced the whole of Marlborough's career, which caused his turnings and windings, his opportune fidelity and treason, stopped his army almost at Paris gate, and landed him finally on the Hanoverian side—the winning side; I get, I say, no truth, or only a portion of it, in the narrative of either writer, and believe that Coxe's portrait or Swift's portrait is quite unlike the real Churchill. I take this as a single instance, prepared to be as sceptical about any other, and say to the Muse of History, 'O venerable daughter of Mnemosyne, I doubt every single statement you ever made since your ladyship was a Muse! For all your grave airs and high pretensions, you are not a whit more trustworthy than some of your lighter sisters on whom your partisans look down. You bid me listen to a general's oration to his soldiers: Nonsense! He no more made it than Turpin made his dying speech at Newgate. You pronounce a panegyric of a hero: I doubt it, and say you flatter outrageously. You utter the condemnation of a loose character: I doubt it, and think you are prejudiced and take the side of the Dons. You offer me an autobiography: I doubt all autobiographies I ever read except those, perhaps, of Mr. Robinson Crusoe, Mariner, and writers of his class. *These* have no object in setting themselves right with the public or their own consciences; these have no motive for concealment or half truths; these call for no more confidence than I can cheerfully give, and do not force me to tax my credulity or to fortify it by evidence. I take up a volume of Dr. Smollett, or a volume of the *Spectator*, and say the fiction carries a greater amount of truth in solution than the volume which purports to be all true. Out of the fictitious book I get the expression of the life of the time; of the manners, of the movement, the dress, the pleasures, the laughter, the ridicules of society—the old times live again, and I travel in the old country of England. Can the heaviest historian do more for me?'

As we read in these delightful volumes of the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, the past age returns, the England of our ancestors is revivified. The Maypole rises in the Strand again in London; the churches are crowded with daily worshippers; the beaux are gathering in the coffee-houses; the gentry are going to the Drawing-room; the ladies are thronging to the toy-shops; the chairmen are jostling in the streets; the footmen are running with links before the chariots, or fighting round the theatre doors. In the country I see the young Squire riding to Eton with his servants behind him, and Will Wimble, the friend of the family, to see him safe. To make that journey from the Squire's and back, Will is a week on horseback. The coach takes five days between London and Bath. The judges and the bar ride the circuit. If my lady comes to town in her post-chariot, her people carry pistols to fire a salute on Captain Macheath if he should appear, and her couriers ride ahead to prepare apartments for her at the great caravanserais on the road; Boniface receives her under the creaking sign of the 'Bell' or the 'Ram', and he and his chamberlains bow her up the great stair to the state-apartments, whilst her carriage rumbles into the courtyard, where the Exeter Fly is housed that performs the journey in eight days, God willing, having achieved its daily flight of twenty miles, and landed its passengers for supper and sleep. The curate is taking his pipe in the kitchen, where the Captain's man—having hung up his master's half-pike—is at his bacon and eggs, bragging of Ramillies and Malplaquet to the townsfolk, who have their club in the chimney-corner. The Captain is ogling the chambermaid in the wooden gallery, or bribing her to know who is the pretty young mistress that has come in the coach? The pack-horses are in the great stable, and the drivers and ostlers carousing in the tap. And in Mrs. Landlady's bar, over a glass of strong waters, sits a gentleman of military appearance, who travels with pistols, as all the rest of the world does, and has a rattling grey mare in the stables which will be saddled and away with its

owner half an hour before the Fly sets out on its last day's flight. And some five miles on the road, as the Exeter Fly comes jingling and creaking onwards, it will suddenly be brought to a halt by a gentleman on a grey mare, with a black vizard on his face, who thrusts a long pistol into the coach window, and bids the company to hand out their purses. . . . It must have been no small pleasure even to sit in the great kitchen in those days and see the tide of humankind pass by. We arrive at places now, but we travel no more. Addison talks jocularly of a difference of manner and costume being quite perceivable at Staines, where there passed a young fellow 'with a very tolerable periwig', though, to be sure, his hat was out of fashion, and had a Ramillies cock. I would have liked to travel in those days (being of that class of travellers who are proverbially pretty easy *coram latronibus*) and have seen my friend with the grey mare and the black vizard. Alas! there always came a day in the life of that warrior when it was the fashion to accompany him as he passed—without his black mask, and with a nosegay in his hand, accompanied by halberdiers and attended by the sheriff,—in a carriage without springs, and a clergyman jolting beside him, to a spot close by Cumberland Gate and the Marble Arch, where a stone still records that here Tyburn turnpike stood. What a change in a century; in a few years! Within a few yards of that gate the fields began: the fields of his exploits, behind the hedges of which he lurked and robbed. A great and wealthy city has grown over those meadows. Were a man brought to die there now, the windows would be closed and the inhabitants keep their houses in sickening horror. A hundred years back, people crowded to see that last act of a highwayman's life, and make jokes on it. Swift laughed at him, grimly advising him to provide a Holland shirt and white cap crowned with a crimson or black ribbon for his exit, to mount the cart cheerfully—shake hands with the hangman, and so—farewell. Gay wrote the most delightful ballads and made merry over the same hero. Contrast these with the writings of our present

humourists! Compare those morals and ours—those manners and ours!

We can't tell—you would not bear to be told the whole truth regarding those men and manners. You could no more suffer in a British drawing-room, under the reign of Queen Victoria, a fine gentleman or fine lady of Queen Anne's time, or hear what they heard and said, than you would receive an ancient Briton. It is as one reads about savages, that one contemplates the wild ways, the barbarous feasts, the terrific pastimes, of the men of pleasure of that age. We have our fine gentlemen, and our 'fast men'; permit me to give you an idea of one particularly fast nobleman of Queen Anne's days, whose biography has been preserved to us by the law reporters.

In 1691, when Steele was a boy at school, my Lord Mohun was tried by his peers for the murder of William Mountford, comedian. In Howell's *State Trials*, the reader will find not only an edifying account of this exceedingly fast nobleman, but of the times and manners of those days. My lord's friend, a Captain Hill, smitten with the charms of the beautiful Mrs. Bracegirdle, and anxious to marry her at all hazards, determined to carry her off, and for this purpose hired a hackney-coach with six horses, and a half-dozen of soldiers, to aid him in the storm. The coach with a pair of horses (the four leaders being in waiting elsewhere) took its station opposite my Lord Craven's house in Drury Lane, by which door Mrs. Bracegirdle was to pass on her way from the theatre. As she passed in company of her mamma and a friend, Mr. Page, the Captain seized her by the hand, the soldiers hustled Mr. Page and attacked him sword in hand, and Captain Hill and his noble friend endeavoured to force Madam Bracegirdle into the coach. Mr. Page called for help: the population of Drury Lane rose: it was impossible to effect the capture; and bidding the soldiers go about their business, and the coach to drive off, Hill let go of his prey sulkily, and he waited for other opportunities of revenge. The man of whom he was most jealous was Will Mountford,

the comedian; Will removed, he thought Mrs. Bracegirdle might be his: and accordingly the Captain and his lordship lay that night in wait for Will, and as he was coming out of a house in Norfolk Street, while Mohun engaged him in talk, Hill, in the words of the Attorney-General, 'made a pass and run him clean through the body.'

Sixty-one of my lord's peers finding him not guilty of murder, while but fourteen found him guilty, this very fast nobleman was discharged: and made his appearance seven years after in another trial for murder—when he, my Lord Warwick, and three gentlemen of the military profession were concerned in the fight which ended in the death of Captain Coote.

This jolly company were drinking together at Locket's in Charing Cross, when angry words arose between Captain Coote and Captain French; whom my Lord Mohun and my lord the Earl of Warwick [1] and Holland endeavoured to pacify. My Lord Warwick was a dear friend of Captain Coote, lent him a hundred pounds to buy his commission in the Guards; once when the captain was arrested for 13*l.* by his tailor, my lord lent him five guineas, often paid his reckoning for him, and showed him other offices of friendship. On this evening the disputants, French and Coote, being separated whilst

[1] The husband of the Lady Warwick who married Addison, and the father of the young earl, who was brought to his step-father's bed to see 'how a Christian could die'. He was amongst the wildest of the nobility of that day; and in the curious collection of Chap-Books at the British Museum, I have seen more than one anecdote of the freaks of the gay lord. He was popular in London, as such daring spirits have been in our time. The anecdotists speak very kindly of his practical jokes. Mohun was scarcely out of prison for his second homicide, when he went on Lord Macclesfield's embassy to the Elector of Hanover, when Queen Anne sent the garter to H.E. Highness. The chronicler of the expedition speaks of his lordship as an amiable young man, who had been in bad company, but was quite repentant and reformed. He and Macartney afterwards murdered the Duke of Hamilton between them, in which act Lord Mohun died. This amiable baron's name was Charles, and not Henry, as a recent novelist has christened him.

they were upstairs, unluckily stopped to drink ale again at the bar of Locket's. The row began afresh—Coote lunged at French over the bar, and at last all six called for chairs, and went to Leicester Fields, where they fell to. Their lordships engaged on the side of Captain Coote. My Lord of Warwick was severely wounded in the hand; Mr. French also was stabbed, but honest Captain Coote got a couple of wounds—one especially, 'a wound in the left side just under the short ribs, and piercing through the diaphragma,' which did for Captain Coote. Hence the trials of my Lords Warwick and Mohun: hence the assemblage of peers, and the report of the transaction, in which these defunct fast men still live for the observation of the curious. My Lord of Warwick is brought to the bar by the Deputy Governor of the Tower of London, having the axe carried before him by the gentleman gaoler, who stood with it at the bar at the right hand of the prisoner, turning the edge from him; the prisoner, at his approach, making three bows, one to his Grace the Lord High Steward, the other to the peers on each hand; and his Grace and the peers return the salute. And besides these great personages, august in periwigs, and nodding to the right and left, a host of the small come up out of the past and pass before us—the jolly captains brawling in the tavern, and laughing and cursing over their cups—the drawer that serves, the bar-girl that waits, the bailiffs on the prowl, the chairmen trudging through the black lampless streets, and smoking their pipes by the railings, whilst swords are clashing in the garden within. 'Help there! a gentleman is hurt!' the chairmen put up their pipes, and help the gentleman over the railings, and carry him, ghastly and bleeding, to the bagnio in Long Acre, where they knock up the surgeon—a pretty tall gentleman—but that wound under the short ribs has done for him. Surgeon, lords, captains, bailiffs, chairmen, and gentleman gaoler with your axe, where be you now? The gentleman axeman's head is off his own shoulders; the lords and judges can wag theirs no longer; the

bailiff's writs have ceased to run ; the honest chairmen's pipes are put out, and with their brawny calves they have walked away into Hades—all as irrecoverably done for as Will Mountford or Captain Coote. The subject of our night's lecture saw all these people—rode in Captain Coote's company of the Guards very probably —wrote and sighed for Bracegirdle, went home tipsy in many a chair, after many a bottle, in many a tavern—fled from many a bailiff.

In 1709, when the publication of the *Tatler* began, our great-great-grandfathers must have seized upon that new and delightful paper with much such eagerness as lovers of light literature in a later day exhibited when the Waverley novels appeared, upon which the public rushed, forsaking that feeble entertainment of which the Miss Porters, the Anne of Swanseas, and worthy Mrs. Radcliffe herself, with her dreary castles and exploded old ghosts, had had pretty much the monopoly. I have looked over many of the comic books with which our ancestors amused themselves, from the novels of Swift's coadjutrix, Mrs. Manley, the delectable author of *The New Atalantis*, to the facetious productions of Tom Durfey, and Tom Brown, and Ned Ward, writer of *The London Spy* and several other volumes of ribaldry. The slang of the taverns and ordinaries, the wit of the bagnios, form the strongest part of the farrago of which these libels are composed. In the excellent newspaper collection at the British Museum, you may see, besides the *Craftsmen* and *Post Boys*, specimens, and queer specimens they are, of the lighter literature of Queen Anne's time. Here is an abstract from a notable journal bearing date, Wednesday, October 13th, 1708, and entitled *The British Apollo ; or, Curious Amusements for the Ingenious, by a Society of Gentlemen*. The *British Apollo* invited and professed to answer questions upon all subjects of wit, morality, science, and even religion ; and two out of its four pages are filled with queries and replies much like some of the oracular penny prints of the present time.

One of the first querists, referring to the passage that

a bishop should be the husband of one wife, argues that polygamy is justifiable in the laity. The society of gentlemen conducting the *British Apollo* are posed by this casuist, and promise to give him an answer. Celinda then wishes to know from 'the gentlemen', concerning the souls of the dead, whether they shall have the satisfaction to know those whom they most valued in this transitory life. The gentlemen of the *Apollo* give but cold comfort to poor Celinda. They are inclined to think not: for, say they, since every inhabitant of those regions will be infinitely dearer than here are our nearest relatives—what have we to do with a partial friendship in that happy place? Poor Celinda! it may have been a child or a lover whom she had lost, and was pining after, when the oracle of *British Apollo* gave her this dismal answer. She has solved the question for herself by this time, and knows quite as well as the society of gentlemen.

From theology we come to physics, and Q. asks, 'Why does hot water freeze sooner than cold?' Apollo replies, 'Hot water cannot be said to freeze sooner than cold, but water once heated and cold, may be more subject to freeze than cold water which never was heated by reason of the evaporation of the spirituous parts, which renders it less able to withstand the power of frosty weather.'

The next query is rather a delicate one. 'You, Mr. Apollo, who are said to be the God of Wisdom, pray give us the reason why kissing is so much in fashion: what benefit one receives by it, and who was the inventor, and you will oblige Corinna.' To this queer demand the lips of Phoebus, smiling, answer: 'Pretty, innocent Corinna! Apollo owns that he was a little surprised by your kissing question, particularly at that part of it where you desire to know the benefit you receive by it. Ah! madam, had you a lover, you would not come to Apollo for a solution; since there is no dispute but the kisses of mutual lovers give infinite satisfaction. As to its invention, 'tis certain nature was its author, and it began with the first courtship.'

After a column more of questions, follow nearly two pages of poems, signed by Philander, Armenia, and the like, and chiefly on the tender passion; and the paper winds up with a letter from Leghorn, an account of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene before Lille, and proposals for publishing two sheets on the present state of Aethiopia, by Mr. Hill; all of which is printed for the authors by J. Mayo, at the Printing Press against Water Lane in Fleet Street. What a change it must have been—how Apollo's oracles must have been struck dumb, when the *Tatler* appeared, and scholars, gentlemen, men of the world, men of genius, began to speak!

Shortly before the Boyne was fought, and young Swift had begun to make acquaintance with English Court manners and English servitude, in Sir William Temple's family, another Irish youth was brought to learn his humanities at the old school of Charterhouse, near Smithfield; to which foundation he had been appointed by James Duke of Ormond, a governor of the House, and a patron of the lad's family. The boy was an orphan, and described, twenty years after, with a sweet pathos and simplicity, some of the earliest recollections of a life which was destined to be chequered by a strange variety of good and evil fortune.

I am afraid no good report could be given by his masters and ushers of that thick-set, square-faced, black-eyed, soft-hearted little Irish boy. He was very idle. He was whipped deservedly a great number of times. Though he had very good parts of his own, he got other boys to do his lessons for him, and only took just as much trouble as should enable him to scuffle through his exercises, and by good fortune escape the flogging block. One hundred and fifty years after, I have myself inspected, but only as an amateur, that instrument of righteous torture still existing, and in occasional use, in a secluded private apartment of the old Charterhouse School; and have no doubt it is the very counterpart, if not the ancient and interesting machine itself, at which poor Dick Steele submitted himself to the tormentors.

Besides being very kind, lazy, and good-natured, this

boy went invariably into debt with the tart-woman; ran out of bounds, and entered into pecuniary, or rather promissory, engagements with the neighbouring lollipop-vendors and piemen—exhibited an early fondness and capacity for drinking mum and sack, and borrowed from all his comrades who had money to lend. I have no sort of authority for the statements here made of Steele's early life; but if the child is father of the man, the father of young Steele of Merton, who left Oxford without taking a degree, and entered the Life Guards—the father of Captain Steele of Lucas's Fusiliers, who got his company through the patronage of my Lord Cutts—the father of Mr. Steele the Commissioner of Stamps, the editor of the *Gazette*, the *Tatler*, and *Spectator*, the expelled Member of Parliament, and the author of *The Tender Husband* and *The Conscious Lovers;* if man and boy resembled each other, Dick Steele the schoolboy must have been one of the most generous, good-for-nothing, amiable little creatures that ever conjugated the verb *tupto*, I beat, *tuptomai*, I am whipped, in any school in Great Britain.

Almost every gentleman who does me the honour to hear me will remember that the very greatest character which he has seen in the course of his life, and the person to whom he has looked up with the greatest wonder and reverence, was the head boy at his school. The schoolmaster himself hardly inspires such an awe. The head boy construes as well as the schoolmaster himself. When he begins to speak the hall is hushed, and every little boy listens. He writes off copies of Latin verses as melodiously as Virgil. He is good-natured, and, his own masterpiece achieved, pours out other copies of verses for other boys with an astonishing ease and fluency; the idle ones only trembling lest they should be discovered on giving in their exercises, and whipped because their poems are too good. I have seen great men in my time, but never such a great one as that head boy of my childhood: we all thought he must be Prime Minister, and I was disappointed on meeting him in after-life to find he was no more than six feet high.

Dick Steele, the Charterhouse gownboy, contracted such an admiration in the years of his childhood, and retained it faithfully through his life. Through the school and through the world, whithersoever his strange fortune led this erring, wayward, affectionate creature, Joseph Addison was always his head boy. Addison wrote his exercises. Addison did his best themes. He ran on Addison's messages : fagged for him and blacked his shoes : to be in Joe's company was Dick's greatest pleasure ; and he took a sermon or a caning from his monitor with the most boundless reverence, acquiescence, and affection.[1]

Steele found Addison a stately college Don at Oxford, and himself did not make much figure at this place. He wrote a comedy, which, by the advice of a friend, the humble fellow burned there ; and some verses, which I dare say are as sublime as other gentlemen's compositions at that age ; but being smitten with a sudden love for military glory, he threw up the cap and gown for the saddle and bridle, and rode privately in the Horse Guards, in the Duke of Ormond's troop—the second—and, probably, with the rest of the gentlemen of his troop, 'all mounted on black horses with white feathers in their hats, and scarlet coats richly laced,' marched by King William, in Hyde Park, in November, 1699, and a great show of the nobility, besides twenty thousand people, and above a thousand coaches. 'The Guards had just got their new cloathes,' the *London Post* said : 'they are extraordinary grand, and thought to be the finist body of horse in the world.' But Steele could hardly have seen any actual service. He who wrote about himself, his mother, his wife, his loves, his debts,

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[1] 'Steele had the greatest veneration for Addison, and used to show it, in all companies, in a particular manner. Addison, now and then, used to play a little upon him ; but he always took it well.'—Pope (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 197.]

'Sir Richard Steele was the best-natured creature in the world : even in his worst state of health, he seemed to desire nothing but to please and be pleased.'—Dr. Young (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 335.]

his friends, and the wine he drank, would have told us of his battles if he had seen any. His old patron, Ormond, probably got him his cornetcy in the Guards, from which he was promoted to be a captain in Lucas's Fusiliers, getting his company through the patronage of Lord Cutts, whose secretary he was, and to whom he dedicated his work called *The Christian Hero*. As poor Dick, whilst writing this ardent devotional work, was deep in debt, in drink, and in all the follies of the town, it is related that the officers of Lucas's, and the gentlemen of the Guards, laughed at Dick.[1] And in truth a theo-

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[1] The gaiety of his dramatic tone may be seen in this little scene between two brilliant sisters, from his comedy, *The Funeral, or Grief à la Mode*. Dick wrote this, he said, from 'a necessity of enlivening his character', which, it seemed, the *Christian Hero* had a tendency to make too decorous, grave, and respectable in the eyes of readers of that pious piece.

[*Scene draws, and discovers* LADY CHARLOTTE, *reading at a table,*— LADY HARRIET, *playing at a glass, to and fro, and viewing herself.*]

L. Ha.—Nay, good sage sister, you may as well talk to me [*looking at herself as she speaks*] as sit staring at a book which I know you can't attend.—Good Dr. Lucas may have writ there what he pleases, but there's no putting Francis, Lord Hardy, now Earl of Brumpton, out of your head, or making him absent from your eyes. Do but look on me, now, and deny it if you can.

L. Ch.—You are the maddest girl [*smiling*].

L. Ha.—Look ye, I knew you could not say it and forbear laughing [*looking over Charlotte*].—Oh! I see his name as plain as you do—F—r—a—n, Fran,—c—i—s, cis, Francis, 'tis in every line of the book.

L. Ch. [*rising*]—It's in vain, I see, to mind anything in such impertinent company—but granting 'twere as you say, as to my Lord Hardy—'tis more excusable to admire another than oneself.

L. Ha.—No, I think not,—yes, I grant you, than really to be vain at one's person, but I don't admire myself—Pish! I don't believe my eyes to have that softness. [*Looking in the glass.*] They an't so piercing: no, 'tis only stuff, the men will be talking.—Some people are such admirers of teeth—Lord, what signifies teeth! [*Showing her teeth.*] A very black-a-moor has as white teeth as I.—No, sister, I don't admire myself, but I've a spirit of contradiction in me: I don't know I'm in love with myself, only to rival the men.

logian in liquor is not a respectable object, and a hermit, though he may be out at elbows, must not be in debt to the tailor. Steele says of himself that he was always sinning and repenting. He beat his breast and cried most piteously when he *did* repent: but as soon as crying had made him thirsty, he fell to sinning again. In that charming paper in the *Tatler*, in which he records his father's death, his mother's griefs, his own most solemn and tender emotions, he says he is interrupted by the

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L. Ch.—Aye, but Mr. Campley will gain ground ev'n of that rival of his, your dear self.

L. Ha.—Oh, what have I done to you, that you should name that insolent intruder? A confident, opinionative fop. No, indeed, if I am, as a poetical lover of mine sighed and sung, of both sexes

The public envy and the public care,

I shan't be so easily catched—I thank him—I want but to be sure, I should heartily torment him by banishing him, and then consider whether he should depart this life or not.

L. Ch.—Indeed, sister, to be serious with you, this vanity in your humour does not at all become you.

L. Ha.—Vanity! All the matter is, we gay people are more sincere than you wise folks; all your life's an art.—Speak your soul.—Look you there.—[*Hauling her to the glass.*] Are you not struck with a secret pleasure when you view that bloom in your look, that harmony in your shape, that promptitude of your mien?

L. Ch.—Well, simpleton, if I am at first so silly as to be a little taken with myself, I know it a fault, and take pains to correct it.

L. Ha.—Pshaw! Pshaw! Talk this musty tale to old Mrs. Fardingale, 'tis too soon for me to think at that rate.

L. Ch.—They that think it too soon to understand themselves will very soon find it too late.—But tell me honestly, don't you like Campley?

L. Ha.—The fellow is not to be abhorred, if the forward thing did not think of getting me so easily.—Oh, I hate a heart I can't break when I please.—What makes the value of dear china, but that 'tis so brittle?—were it not for that, you might as well have stone mugs in your closet.—*The Funeral*, Act II, Sc. ii.

'We knew the obligations the stage had to his writings [Steele's]; there being scarcely a comedian of merit in our whole company whom his *Tatlers* had not made better by his recommendation of them.'—CIBBER. [*Apology*, Chap. xv.]

arrival of a hamper of wine, the same as is to be sold at Garraway's, next week, upon the receipt of which he sends for three friends, and they fall to instantly, drinking two bottles apiece, with great benefit to themselves, and not separating till two o'clock in the morning.

His life was so. Jack the drawer was always interrupting it, bringing him a bottle from the 'Rose', or inviting him over to a bout there with Sir Plume and Mr. Diver; and Dick wiped his eyes, which were whimpering over his papers, took down his laced hat, put on his sword and wig, kissed his wife and children, told them a lie about pressing business, and went off to the 'Rose' to the jolly fellows.

While Mr. Addison was abroad, and after he came home in rather a dismal way to wait upon Providence in his shabby lodging in the Haymarket, young Captain Steele was cutting a much smarter figure than that of his classical friend of Charterhouse Cloister and Maudlin Walk. Could not some painter give an interview between the gallant captain of Lucas's, with his hat cocked, and his lace, and his face too, a trifle tarnished with drink, and that poet, that philosopher, pale, proud, and poor, his friend and monitor of schooldays, of all days? How Dick must have bragged about his chances and his hopes, and the fine company he kept, and the charms of the reigning toasts and popular actresses, and the number of bottles that he and my lord and some other pretty fellows had cracked overnight at the 'Devil', or the 'Garter'! Cannot one fancy Joseph Addison's calm smile and cold grey eyes following Dick for an instant, as he struts down the Mall, to dine with the Guard at St. James's, before he turns, with his sober pace and threadbare suit, to walk back to his lodgings up the two pair of stairs? Steele's name was down for promotion, Dick always said himself, in the glorious, pious, and immortal William's last table-book. Jonathan Swift's name had been written there by the same hand too.

Our worthy friend, the author of the *Christian Hero*, continued to make no small figure about town by the use

of his wits.[1] He was appointed Gazettcer: he wrote, in 1703, *The Tender Husband*, his second play, in which there is some delightful farcical writing, and of which he fondly owned in after-life, and when Addison was no more, that there were 'many applauded strokes' from Addison's beloved hand.[2] Is it not a pleasant partnership to remember? Can't one fancy Steele full of spirits and youth, leaving his gay company to go to Addison's lodging, where his friend sits in the shabby sitting-room, quite serene, and cheerful, and poor? In 1704, Steele came on the town with another comedy, and behold it was so moral and religious, as poor Dick insisted, so dull the town thought, that the *Lying Lover* was damned.

Addison's hour of success now came, and he was able to help our friend, the 'Christian Hero', in such a way, that, if there had been any chance of keeping that poor tipsy champion upon his legs, his fortune was safe, and his competence assured. Steele procured the place of Commissioner of Stamps: he wrote so richly, so gracefully often, so kindly always, with such a pleasant wit and easy frankness, with such a gush of good spirits and

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[1] 'There is not now in his sight that excellent man, whom Heaven made his friend and superior, to be, at a certain place, in pain for what he should say or do. I will go on in his further encouragement. The best woman that ever man had cannot now lament and pine at his neglect of himself.'—STEELE [of himself]. *The Theatre*, No. 12, Feb. [9th], 1719–20.

[2] *The Funeral* supplies an admirable stroke of humour,—one which Sydney Smith has used as an illustration of the faculty in his Lectures.

The undertaker is talking to his employés about their duty.

Sable.—Ha, you!—A little more upon the dismal [*forming their countenances*]; this fellow has a good mortal look,—place him near the corpse: that wainscot-face must be o' top of the stairs; that fellow's almost in a fright (that looks as if he were full of some strange misery) at the entrance of the hall. So—But I'll fix you all myself. Let's have no laughing now on any provocation. Look yonder,—that hale, well-looking puppy! You ungrateful scoundrel, did not I pity you, take you out of a great man's service, and show you the pleasure of receiving wages? *Did not I give you ten, then fifteen, now twenty shillings a week to be sorrowful?—and the more I give you I think the gladder you are!* [Act I, Sc. i.]

good humour, that his early papers may be compared to Addison's own, and are to be read, by a male reader at least, with quite an equal pleasure.[1]

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[1] 'From my own Apartment, Nov. 16.

'There are several persons who have many pleasures and entertainments in their possession, which they do not enjoy; it is, therefore, a kind and good office to acquaint them with their own happiness, and turn their attention to such instances of their good fortune as they are apt to overlook. Persons in the married state often want such a monitor; and pine away their days by looking upon the same condition in anguish and murmur, which carries with it, in the opinion of others, a complication of all the pleasures of life, and a retreat from its inquietudes.

'I am led into this thought by a visit I made an old friend who was formerly my schoolfellow. He came to town last week, with his family, for the winter; and yesterday morning sent me word his wife expected me to dinner. I am, as it were, at home at that house, and every member of it knows me for their well-wisher. I cannot, indeed, express the pleasure it is to be met by the children with so much joy as I am when I go thither. The boys and girls strive who shall come first, when they think it is I that am knocking at the door; and that child which loses the race to me runs back again to tell the father it is Mr. Bickerstaff. This day I was led in by a pretty girl that we all thought must have forgot me; for the family has been out of town these two years. Her knowing me again was a mighty subject with us, and took up our discourse at the first entrance; after which, they began to rally me upon a thousand little stories they heard in the country, about my marriage to one of my neighbour's daughters; upon which, the gentleman, my friend, said, "Nay; if Mr. Bickerstaff marries a child of any of his old companions, I hope mine shall have the preference: there is Mrs. Mary is now sixteen, and would make him as fine a widow as the best of them. But I know him too well; he is so enamoured with the very memory of those who flourished in our youth, that he will not so much as look upon the modern beauties. I remember, old gentleman, how often you went home in a day to refresh your countenance and dress when Teraminta reigned in your heart. As we came up in the coach, I repeated to my wife some of your verses on her." With such reflections on little passages which happened long ago, we passed our time during a cheerful and elegant meal. After dinner his lady left the room, as did also the children. As soon as we were alone, he took me by the hand: "Well, my good friend," says he, "I am heartily glad to see thee; I was afraid you would never

After the *Tatler*, in 1711, the famous *Spectator* made its appearance, and this was followed, at various inter-

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have seen all the company that dined with you to-day again. Do not you think the good woman of the house a little altered since you followed her from the playhouse to find out who she was for me?" I perceived a tear fall down his cheek as he spoke, which moved me not a little. But, to turn the discourse, I said, "She is not, indeed, quite that creature she was when she returned me the letter I carried from you, and told me, 'She hoped, as I was a gentleman, I would be employed no more to trouble her, who had never offended me; but would be so much the gentleman's friend as to dissuade him from a pursuit which he could never succeed in.' You may remember I thought her in earnest, and you were forced to employ your cousin Will, who made his sister get acquainted with her for you. You cannot expect her to be for ever fifteen." "Fifteen!" replied my good friend. "Ah! you little understand—you, that have lived a bachelor—how great, how exquisite a pleasure there is in being really beloved! It is impossible that the most beauteous face in nature should raise in me such pleasing ideas as when I look upon that excellent woman. That fading in her countenance is chiefly caused by her watching with me in my fever. This was followed by a fit of sickness, which had like to have carried her off last winter. I tell you, sincerely, I have so many obligations to her that I cannot, with any sort of moderation, think of her present state of health. But, as to what you say of fifteen, she gives me every day pleasures beyond what I ever knew in the possession of her beauty when I was in the vigour of youth. Every moment of her life brings me fresh instances of her complacency to my inclinations, and her prudence in regard to my fortune. Her face is to me much more beautiful than when I first saw it; there is no decay in any feature which I cannot trace from the very instant it was occasioned by some anxious concern for my welfare and interests. Thus, at the same time, methinks, the love I conceived towards her for what she was, is heightened by my gratitude for what she is. The love of a wife is as much above the idle passion commonly called by that name, as the loud laughter of buffoons is inferior to the elegant mirth of gentlemen. Oh, she is an inestimable jewel! In her examination of her household affairs, she shows a certain fearfulness to find a fault, which makes her servants obey her like children; and the meanest we have has an ingenuous shame for an offence not always to be seen in children in other families. I speak freely to you, my old friend; ever since her sickness, things that gave me the quickest joy before turn now to a certain anxiety. As the children play in the next room, I know the poor things by their steps, and am

vals, by many periodicals under the same editor—the *Guardian*—the *Englishman*—the *Lover*, whose love was

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considering what they must do should they lose their mother in their tender years. The pleasure I used to take in telling my boy stories of battles, and asking my girl questions about the disposal of her baby, and the gossipping of it, is turned into inward reflection and melancholy."

'He would have gone on in this tender way, when the good lady entered, and, with an inexpressible sweetness in her countenance, told us "she had been searching her closet for something very good, to treat such an old friend as I was". Her husband's eyes sparkled with pleasure at the cheerfulness of her countenance; and I saw all his fears vanish in an instant. The lady observing something in our looks which showed we had been more serious than ordinary, and seeing her husband receive her with great concern under a forced cheerfulness, immediately guessed at what we had been talking of; and applying herself to me, said, with a smile, "Mr. Bickerstaff, do not believe a word of what he tells you; I shall still live to have you for my second, as I have often promised you, unless he takes more care of himself than he has done since his coming to town. You must know he tells me, that he finds London is a much more healthy place than the country; for he sees several of his old acquaintance and schoolfellows are here—*young fellows with fair, full-bottomed periwigs*. I could scarce keep him this morning from going out *open-breasted*." My friend, who is always extremely delighted with her agreeable humour, made her sit down with us. She did it with that easiness which is peculiar to women of sense; and to keep up the good humour she had brought in with her, turned her raillery upon me. "Mr. Bickerstaff, you remember you followed me one night from the playhouse; suppose you should carry me thither to-morrow night, and lead me into the front box." This put us into a long field of discourse about the beauties who were mothers to the present, and shined in the boxes twenty years ago. I told her, "I was glad she had transferred so many of her charms, and I did not question but her eldest daughter was within half a year of being a toast."

'We were pleasing ourselves with this fantastical preferment of the young lady, when, on a sudden, we were alarmed with the noise of a drum, and immediately entered my little godson to give me a point of war. His mother, between laughing and chiding, would have put him out of the room; but I would not part with him so. I found, upon conversation with him, though he was a little noisy in his mirth, that the child had excellent parts, and was a great master of all the learning on the other side eight years old. I perceived him a very great historian in

rather insipid—the *Reader*, of whom the public saw no more after his second appearance—the *Theatre*, under the pseudonym of Sir John Edgar, which Steele wrote, while Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians, to which post, and to that of Surveyor of the Royal Stables at Hampton Court, and to the Commission of the Peace for Middlesex, and to the honour of knighthood, Steele had been preferred soon after the accession of George I, whose cause honest Dick had nobly fought, through disgrace and danger, against the most formidable enemies, against traitors and bullies, against Bolingbroke and Swift in the last reign. With the arrival of the King, that splendid conspiracy broke up; and a golden opportunity came to Dick Steele, whose hand, alas, was too careless to grip it.

Aesop's Fables; but he frankly declared to me his mind, "that he did not delight in that learning, because he did not believe they were true;" for which reason I found he had very much turned his studies, for about a twelvemonth past, into the lives and adventures of Don Bellianis of Greece, Guy of Warwick, the *Seven Champions*, and other historians of that age. I could not but observe the satisfaction the father took in the forwardness of his son; and that these diversions might turn to some profit, I found the boy had made remarks which might be of service to him during the course of his whole life. He would tell you the mismanagements of John Hickerthrift, find fault with the passionate temper in Bevis of Southampton, and loved St. George for being the champion of England; and by this means had his thoughts insensibly moulded into the notions of discretion, virtue, and honour. I was extolling his accomplishments, when the mother told me, "that the little girl who led me in this morning was, in her way, a better scholar than he. Betty," says she, "deals chiefly in fairies and sprites; and sometimes in a winter night will terrify the maids with her accounts, until they are afraid to go up to bed."

'I sat with them until it was very late, sometimes in merry, sometimes in serious discourse, with this particular pleasure, which gives the only true relish to all conversation, a sense that every one of us liked each other. I went home, considering the different conditions of a married life and that of a bachelor; and I must confess it struck me with a secret concern, to reflect, that whenever I go off I shall leave no traces behind me. In this pensive mood I returned to my family; that is to say, to my maid, my dog, and my cat, who only can be the better or worse for what happens to me.'—*The Tatler.* [No. 95.]

Steele married twice; and outlived his places, his schemes, his wife, his income, his health, and almost everything but his kind heart. That ceased to trouble him in 1729, when he died, worn out and almost forgotten by his contemporaries, in Wales, where he had the remnant of a property.

Posterity has been kinder to this amiable creature; all women especially are bound to be grateful to Steele, as he was the first of our writers who really seemed to admire and respect them. Congreve the Great, who alludes to the low estimation in which women were held in Elizabeth's time, as a reason why the women of Shakespeare make so small a figure in the poet's dialogues, though he can himself pay splendid compliments to women, yet looks on them as mere instruments of gallantry, and destined, like the most consummate fortifications, to fall, after a certain time, before the arts and bravery of the besieger, man. There is a letter of Swift's, entitled *Advice to a very Young Married Lady*, which shows the Dean's opinion of the female society of his day, and that if he despised man he utterly scorned women too. No lady of our time could be treated by any man, were he ever so much a wit or Dean, in such a tone of insolent patronage and vulgar protection. In this performance, Swift hardly takes pains to hide his opinion that a woman is a fool: tells her to read books, as if reading was a novel accomplishment; and informs her that 'not one gentleman's daughter in a thousand has been brought to read or understand her own natural tongue'. Addison laughs at women equally; but, with the gentleness and politeness of his nature, smiles at them and watches them, as if they were harmless, half-witted, amusing, pretty creatures, only made to be men's playthings. It was Steele who first began to pay a manly homage to their goodness and understanding, as well as to their tenderness and beauty.[1] In his comedies, the heroes

[1] 'As to the pursuits after affection and esteem, the fair sex are happy in this particular, that with them the one is much

do not rant and rave about the divine beauties of Gloriana or Statira, as the characters were made to do in the chivalry romances and the high-flown dramas just going out of vogue, but Steele admires women's virtue, acknowledges their sense, and adores their purity and beauty, with an ardour and strength which should win the goodwill of all women to their hearty and respectful champion. It is this ardour, this respect, this manliness, which makes his comedies so pleasant and their heroes such fine gentlemen. He paid the finest compliment to a woman that perhaps ever was offered. Of one woman, whom Congreve had also admired and celebrated, Steele says, that 'to have loved her was a liberal education'. 'How often,' he says, dedicating a volume to his wife, 'how often has your tenderness removed pain from my sick head, how often anguish from my afflicted heart! . . . If there are such beings as guardian angels, thus are they employed; I will no more believe one of them more good in its inclinations, than I can conceive it more charming in its form than my wife.' His breast seems to warm and his eyes to kindle when he meets with a good and beautiful woman, and it is with his heart as well as with his hat that he salutes her. About children, and all that relates to home, he is not less tender, and more than once speaks in apology of what he calls his softness. He would have been nothing without that delightful weakness. It is that which gives his works their worth and his style its charm. It, like his life, is full of faults and careless blunders;

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more nearly related to the other than in men. The love of a woman is inseparable from some esteem of her; and as she is naturally the object of affection, the woman who has your esteem has also some degree of your love. A man that dotes on a woman for her beauty, will whisper his friend, "that creature has a great deal of wit when you are well acquainted with her." And if you examine the bottom of your esteem for a woman, you will find you have a greater opinion of her beauty than anybody else. As to us men, I design to pass most of my time with the facetious Harry Bickerstaff; but William Bickerstaff, the most prudent man of our family, shall be my executor.' —*Tatler*, No. 206.

and redeemed, like that, by his sweet and compassionate nature.

We possess of poor Steele's wild and chequered life some of the most curious memoranda that ever were left of a man's biography.[1] Most men's letters, from Cicero

[1] The Correspondence of Steele passed after his death into the possession of his daughter Elizabeth, by his second wife, Miss Scurlock, of Carmarthenshire. She married the Hon. John, afterwards third Lord Trevor. At her death, part of the letters passed to Mr. Thomas, a grandson of a natural daughter of Steele's; and part to Lady Trevor's next of kin, Mr. Scurlock. They were published by the learned Nichols—from whose later edition of them, in 1809, our specimens are quoted.

Here we have him, in his courtship—which was not a very long one.

TO MRS. SCURLOCK.

'Aug. 30, 1707.

'MADAM,—

'I beg pardon that my paper is not finer, but I am forced to write from a coffee-house, where I am attending about business. There is a dirty crowd of busy faces all around me, talking of money; while all my ambition, all my wealth, is love! Love, which animates my heart, sweetens my humour, enlarges my soul, and affects every action of my life. It is to my lovely charmer I owe, that many noble ideas are continually affixed to my words and actions; it is the natural effect of that generous passion to create in the admirer some similitude of the object admired. Thus, my dear, am I every day to improve from so sweet a companion. Look up, my fair one, to that Heaven which made thee such; and join with me to implore its influence on our tender innocent hours, and beseech the Author of love to bless the rites He has ordained—and mingle with our happiness a just sense of our transient condition, and a resignation to His will, which only can regulate our minds to a steady endeavour to please Him and each other.

'I am for ever your faithful servant,

'RICH. STEELE.'

Some few hours afterwards, apparently, Mistress Scurlock received the next one—obviously written later in the day!

'Saturday night (Aug. 30, 1707).

'DEAR, LOVELY MRS. SCURLOCK,—

'I have been in very good company, where your health, under the character of *the woman I loved best*, has been often drunk; so that I may say I am dead drunk for your sake, which is more than *I die for you*.

'RICH. STEELE.'

down to Walpole, or down to the great men of our own time, if you will, are doctored compositions, and written

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TO MRS. SCURLOCK.

'Sept. 1, 1707.

'MADAM,—

'It is the hardest thing in the world to be in love, and yet attend business. As for me, all who speak to me find me out, and I must lock myself up, or other people will do it for me.

'A gentleman asked me this morning, "What news from Lisbon?" and I answered, "She is exquisitely handsome." Another desired to know "when I had been last at Hampton Court?" I replied, "It will be on Tuesday come se'nnight." Pr'ythee allow me at least to kiss your hand before that day, that my mind may be in some composure. O Love!

'A thousand torments dwell about thee,
Yet who would live, to live without thee?

'Methinks I could write a volume to you; but all the language on earth would fail in saying how much, and with what disinterested passion,

'I am ever yours,
'RICH. STEELE.'

Two days after this, he is found expounding his circumstances and prospects to the young lady's mamma. He dates from 'Lord Sunderland's office, Whitehall'; and states his clear income at 1,025*l.* per annum. 'I promise myself,' says he, 'the pleasure of an industrious and virtuous life, in studying to do things agreeable to you.'

They were married according to the most probable conjectures about the 7th inst. There are traces of a tiff about the middle of the next month; she being prudish and fidgety, as he was impassioned and reckless. General progress, however, may be seen from the following notes. The 'house in Bury Street, St. James's', was now taken.

TO MRS. STEELE.

'Oct. 16, 1707.

'DEAREST BEING ON EARTH,—

'Pardon me if you do not see me till eleven o'clock, having met a schoolfellow from India, by whom I am to be informed in things this night which concern extremely your obedient husband,

'RICH. STEELE.'

TO MRS. STEELE.

'Eight o'clock, Fountain Tavern,
'Oct. 22, 1707.

'MY DEAR,—

'I beg of you not to be uneasy; for I have done a great

with an eye suspicious towards posterity. That dedication of Steele's to his wife is an artificial performance,

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deal of business to-day very successfully, and wait an hour or two about my *Gazette*.'

'Dec. 22, 1707.

'My dear, dear Wife,—

'I write to let you know I do not come home to dinner, being obliged to attend some business abroad, of which I shall give you an account (when I see you in the evening), as becomes your dutiful and obedient husband.'

'Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, Jan. 3, 1707–8.

'Dear Prue,—

'I have partly succeeded in my business to-day, and inclose two guineas as earnest of more. Dear Prue, I cannot come home to dinner. I languish for your welfare, and will never be a moment careless more. 'Your faithful husband,' &c.

'Jan. 14, 1707–8.

'Dear Wife,—

'Mr. Edgecomb, Ned Ash, and Mr. Lumley, have desired me to sit an hour with them at the George in Pall Mall, for which I desire your patience till twelve o'clock, and that you will go to bed,' &c.

'Gray's Inn Feb. 3, 1708.

'Dear Prue,—

'If the man who has my shoemaker's bill calls, let him be answered that I shall call on him as I come home. I stay here in order to get Tonson to discount a bill for me, and shall dine with him for that end. He is expected at home every minute.

'Your most humble, obedient servant,' &c.

'Tennis Court Coffee-house, May 5, 1708.

'Dear Wife,—

'I hope I have done this day what will be pleasing to you; in the meantime shall lie this night at a barber's, one Leg, over against the Devil Tavern, at Charing Cross. I shall be able to confront the fools who wish me uneasy, and shall have the satisfaction to see thee cheerful and at ease.

'If the printer's boy be at home, send him hither; and let Mrs. Todd send by the boy my night-gown, slippers, and clean linen. You shall hear from me early in the morning,' &c.

Dozens of similar letters follow, with occasional guineas, little parcels of tea, or walnuts, &c. In 1709 the *Tatler* made its appearance. The following curious note dates April 7, 1710:—

'I inclose to you ["Dear Prue"] a receipt for the saucepan and spoon, and a note of 23*l*. of Lewis's, which will make up the 50*l*. I promised for your ensuing occasion.

possibly; at least, it is written with that degree of artifice which an orator uses in arranging a statement for the House, or a poet employs in preparing a sentiment in verse or for the stage. But there are some 400 letters of Dick Steele's to his wife, which that thrifty woman preserved accurately, and which could have been written but for her and her alone. They contain details of the business, pleasures, quarrels, reconciliations of the pair; they have all the genuineness of conversation; they are as artless as a child's prattle, and as confidential as a curtain-lecture. Some are written from the printing-office, where he is waiting for the proofsheets of his *Gazette*, or his *Tatler;* some are written from the tavern, whence he promises to come to his wife 'within a pint of wine', and where he has given a rendezvous to a friend, or a money-lender: some are composed in a high state of vinous excitement, when his head is flustered with burgundy, and his heart abounds with amorous warmth for his darling Prue: some are under the influence of the dismal headache and repentance next morning: some, alas, are from the lock-up house, where the lawyers have impounded him, and where he is waiting for bail. You trace many years of the poor fellow's career in these letters. In September, 1707, from which day she began to save the letters, he married the beautiful Mistress Scurlock. You have his passionate protestations to the lady; his respectful proposals to her mamma; his private prayer to Heaven when the union so ardently desired was completed; his fond professions of contrition and promises of amendment,

'I know no happiness in this life in any degree comparable to the pleasure I have in your person and society. I only beg of you to add to your other charms a fearfulness to see a man that loves you in pain and uneasiness, to make me as happy as it is possible to be in this life. Rising a little in a morning, and being disposed to a cheerfulness . . . would not be amiss.'

In another, he is found excusing his coming home, being 'invited to supper to Mr. Boyle's'. 'Dear Prue,' he says on this occasion, 'do not send after me, for I shall be ridiculous.' [*Letter* *270.]

when, immediately after his marriage, there began to be just cause for the one and need for the other.

Captain Steele took a house for his lady upon their marriage, 'the third door from Germain Street, left hand of Berry Street,' and the next year he presented his wife with a country house at Hampton. It appears she had a chariot and pair, and sometimes four horses: he himself enjoyed a little horse for his own riding. He paid, or promised to pay, his barber fifty pounds a year, and always went abroad in a laced coat and a large black-buckled periwig, that must have cost somebody fifty guineas. He was rather a well-to-do gentleman, Captain Steele, with the proceeds of his estates in Barbadoes (left to him by his first wife), his income as writer of the *Gazette*, and his office of gentleman waiter to his Royal Highness Prince George. His second wife brought him a fortune too. But it is melancholy to relate, that with these houses and chariots and horses and income, the Captain was constantly in want of money, for which his beloved bride was asking as constantly. In the course of a few pages we begin to find the shoemaker calling for money, and some directions from the Captain, who has not thirty pounds to spare. He sends his wife, 'the beautifullest object in the world,' as he calls her, and evidently in reply to applications of her own, which have gone the way of all waste paper, and lighted Dick's pipes, which were smoked a hundred and forty years ago—he sends his wife now a guinea, then a half-guinea, then a couple of guineas, then half a pound of tea; and again no money and no tea at all, but a promise that his darling Prue shall have some in a day or two: or a request, perhaps, that she will send over his nightgown and shaving-plate to the temporary lodging where the nomadic captain is lying, hidden from the bailiffs. Oh that a Christian hero and late captain in Lucas's should be afraid of a dirty sheriff's officer! That the pink and pride of chivalry should turn pale before a writ! It stands to record in poor Dick's own handwriting—the queer collection is preserved at the British Museum to this present day—that

the rent of the nuptial house in Jermyn Street, sacred to unutterable tenderness and Prue, and three doors from Bury Street, was not paid until after the landlord had put in an execution on Captain Steele's furniture. Addison sold the house and furniture at Hampton, and, after deducting the sum in which his incorrigible friend was indebted to him, handed over the residue of the proceeds of the sale to poor Dick, who wasn't in the least angry at Addison's summary proceeding, and I dare say was very glad of any sale or execution, the result of which was to give him a little ready money. Having a small house in Jermyn Street for which he could not pay, and a country house at Hampton on which he had borrowed money, nothing must content Captain Dick but the taking, in 1712, a much finer, larger, and grander house, in Bloomsbury Square; where his unhappy landlord got no better satisfaction than his friend in St. James's, and where it is recorded that Dick, giving a grand entertainment, had a half-dozen queer-looking fellows in livery to wait upon his noble guests, and confessed that his servants were bailiffs to a man. 'I fared like a distressed prince,' the kindly prodigal writes, generously complimenting Addison for his assistance in the *Tatler*,—'I fared like a distressed prince, who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid. I was undone by my auxiliary; when I had once called him in, I could not subsist without dependence on him.' Poor, needy Prince of Bloomsbury! think of him in his palace, with his allies from Chancery Lane ominously guarding him.

All sorts of stories are told indicative of his recklessness and his good humour. One narrated by Dr. Hoadly is exceedingly characteristic; it shows the life of the time: and our poor friend very weak, but very kind both in and out of his cups.

'My father' (says Dr. John Hoadly, the bishop's son)—'when bishop of Bangor, was, by invitation, present at one of the Whig meetings, held at the "Trumpet", in Shire Lane, where Sir Richard, in his zeal, rather exposed himself, having the double duty of the day

upon him, as well to celebrate the immortal memory of King William, it being the 4th of November, as to drink his friend Addison up to conversation pitch, whose phlegmatic constitution was hardly warmed for society by that time Steele was not fit for it. Two remarkable circumstances happened. John Sly, the hatter, of facetious memory, was in the house; and, when pretty mellow, took it into his head to come into the company on his knees, with a tankard of ale in his hand to drink off to the *immortal memory*, and to retire in the same manner. Steele, sitting next my father, whispered him —"*Do laugh. It is humanity to laugh.*" Sir Richard, in the evening, being too much in the same condition, was put into a chair, and sent home. Nothing would serve him but being carried to the Bishop of Bangor's, late as it was. However, the chairmen carried him home, and got him upstairs, when his great complaisance would wait on them downstairs, which he did, and then was got quietly to bed.'[1]

There is another amusing story which, I believe, that renowned collector, Mr. Joseph Miller, or his successors, have incorporated into their work. Sir Richard Steele, at a time when he was much occupied with theatrical affairs, built himself a pretty private theatre, and, before it was opened to his friends and guests was anxious to try whether the hall was well adapted for hearing. Accordingly he placed himself in the most remote part of the gallery, and begged the carpenter who had built the house to speak up from the stage. The man at first said that he was unaccustomed to public speaking, and did not know what to say to his honour; but the good-natured knight called out to him to say whatever was uppermost; and, after a moment, the carpenter began, in a voice perfectly audible: 'Sir Richard Steele!' he said, 'for three months past me and my men has been a-working in this theatre, and we've

[1] Of this famous Bishop, Steele wrote:—

Virtue with so much ease on Bangor sits,
All faults he pardons, though he none commits.

never seen the colour of your honour's money ; we will be very much obliged if you'll pay it directly, for until you do we won't drive in another nail.' Sir Richard said that his friend's elocution was perfect, but that he didn't like his subject much.

The great charm of Steele's writing is its naturalness. He wrote so quickly and carelessly, that he was forced to make the reader his confidant, and had not the time to deceive him. He had a small share of book-learning, but a vast acquaintance with the world. He had known men and taverns. He had lived with gownsmen, with troopers, with gentlemen ushers of the Court, with men and women of fashion ; with authors and wits, with the inmates of the spunging-houses, and with the frequenters of all the clubs and coffee-houses in the town. He was liked in all company because he liked it ; and you like to see his enjoyment as you like to see the glee of a box full of children at the pantomime. He was not of those lonely ones of the earth whose greatness obliged them to be solitary ; on the contrary, he admired, I think, more than any man who ever wrote ; and, full of hearty applause and sympathy, wins upon you by calling you to share his delight and good humour. His laugh rings through the whole house. He must have been invaluable at a tragedy, and have cried as much as the most tender young lady in the boxes. He has a relish for beauty and goodness wherever he meets it. He admired Shakespeare affectionately, and more than any man of his time ; and, according to his generous expansive nature, called upon all his company to like what he liked himself. He did not damn with faint praise : he was in the world and of it ; and his enjoyment of life presents the strangest contrast to Swift's savage indignation and Addison's lonely serenity.[1] Permit me to read

[1] Here we have some of his later letters :—

TO LADY STEELE.

'Hampton Court, March 16, 1716–17.

'Dear Prue,—

'If you have written anything to me which I should have received last night, I beg your pardon that I cannot answer till

to you a passage from each writer, curiously indicative of his peculiar humour: the subject is the same, and the

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the next post. . . . Your son at the present writing is mighty well employed in tumbling on the floor of the room and sweeping the sand with a feather. He grows a most delightful child, and very full of play and spirit. He is also a very great scholar: he can read his primer; and I have brought down my Virgil. He makes most shrewd remarks upon the pictures. We are very intimate friends and playfellows. He begins to be very ragged; and I hope I shall be pardoned if I equip him with new clothes and frocks, or what Mrs. Evans and I shall think for his service.'

TO LADY STEELE.

[Undated.]

'You tell me you want a little flattery from me. I assure you I know no one who deserves so much commendation as yourself, and to whom saying the best things would be so little like flattery. The thing speaks [for] itself, considering you as a very handsome woman that loves retirement—one who does not want wit, and yet is extremely sincere; and so I could go through all the vices which attend the good qualities of other people, of which you are exempt. But, indeed, though you have every perfection, you have one extravagant fault, which almost frustrates the good in you to me; and that is, that you do not love to dress, to appear, to shine out, even at my request, and to make me proud of you, or rather to indulge the pride I have that you are mine. . . .

'Your most affectionate, obsequious husband,

'RICH. STEELE.

'A quarter of Molly's schooling is paid. The children are perfectly well.' [*Letter* 340.]

TO LADY STEELE.

'March 26, 1717.

'MY DEAREST PRUE,

'I have received yours, wherein you give me the sensible affliction of letting me know of the continual pain in your head. . . . When I lay in your place, and on your pillow, I assure you I fell into tears last night, to think that my charming little insolent might be then awake and in pain; and took it to be a sin to go to sleep.

'For this tender passion towards you, I must be contented that your *Prueship* will condescend to call yourself my well-wisher . . .'

At the time when the above later letters were written, Lady Steele was in Wales, looking after her estate there. Steele, about this time, was much occupied with a project for con-

mood the very gravest. We have said that upon all the actions of man, the most trifling and the most solemn, the humourist takes upon himself to comment. All readers of our old masters know the terrible lines of Swift, in which he hints at his philosophy and describes the end of mankind :—[1]

> Amazed, confused, its fate unknown,
> The world stands trembling at Jove's throne ;
> While each pale sinner hung his head,
> Jove, nodding, shook the heavens and said :
> ' Offending race of human kind,
> By nature, reason, learning, blind ;
> You who through frailty stepped aside,
> And you who never fell from pride ;
> You who in different sects were shamm'd,
> And come to see each other damn'd ;
> (So some folk told you, but they knew
> No more of Jove's designs than you ;)
> The world's mad business now is o'er,
> And I resent these pranks no more ;
> *I* to such blockheads set my wit,
> I damn such fools—go, go, you're bit ! '

Addison, speaking on the very same theme, but with how different a voice, says, in his famous paper on Westminster Abbey (*Spectator*, No. 26) :—' For my own part, though I am always serious, I do not know what it is to be melancholy, and can therefore take a view of nature in her deep and solemn scenes with the same pleasure as in her most gay and delightful ones . . . When I look upon the tombs of the great, every emotion of envy dies in me ; when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire goes out ; when I

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veying fish alive, by which, as he constantly assures his wife, he firmly believed he should make his fortune. It did not succeed, however.

Lady Steele died in December of the succeeding year. She lies buried in Westminster Abbey.

[1] Lord Chesterfield sends these verses to Voltaire in a characteristic letter. [Aug. 27, 1752.]

meet with the grief of parents upon a tombstone, my heart melts with compassion; when I see the tomb of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow.' (I have owned that I do not think Addison's heart melted very much, or that he indulged very inordinately in the 'vanity of grieving'.) 'When,' he goes on, 'when I see kings lying by those who deposed them: when I consider rival wits placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes,—I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs of some that died yesterday and some 600 years ago, I consider that Great Day when we shall all of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance together.'

Our third humourist comes to speak upon the same subject. You will have observed in the previous extracts the characteristic humour of each writer—the subject and the contrast—the fact of Death, and the play of individual thought, by which each comments on it, and now hear the third writer—death, sorrow, and the grave, being for the moment also his theme. 'The first sense of sorrow I ever knew,' Steele says in the *Tatler*, 'was upon the death of my father, at which time I was not quite five years of age: but was rather amazed at what all the house meant, than possessed with a real understanding why nobody would play with me. I remember I went into the room where his body lay, and my mother sat weeping alone by it. I had my battledore in my hand, and fell a-beating the coffin, and calling papa; for, I know not how, I had some slight idea that he was locked up there. My mother caught me in her arms, and, transported beyond all patience of the silent grief she was before in, she almost smothered me in her embraces, and told me in a flood of tears, "Papa could not hear me, and would play with me no more: for they were going to put him underground, whence he could never come to us again." She was a very beautiful woman, of a noble spirit, and there was a dignity in her grief amidst

all the wildness of her transport, which methought struck me with an instinct of sorrow that, before I was sensible of what it was to grieve, seized my very soul, and has made pity the weakness of my heart ever since.'

Can there be three more characteristic moods of minds and men? 'Fools, do you know anything of this mystery?' says Swift, stamping on a grave and carrying his scorn for mankind actually beyond it. 'Miserable, purblind wretches, how dare you to pretend to comprehend the Inscrutable, and how can your dim eyes pierce the unfathomable depths of yonder boundless heaven?' Addison, in a much kinder language and gentler voice, utters much the same sentiment: and speaks of the rivalry of wits, and the contests of holy men, with an equal sceptic placidity. 'Look what a little vain dust we are,' he says, smiling over the tombstones, and catching, as is his wont, quite a divine effulgence as he looks heavenward, he speaks in words of inspiration almost, of 'the Great Day, when we shall all of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance together'.

The third, whose theme is Death, too, and who will speak his word of moral as Heaven teaches him, leads you up to his father's coffin, and shows you his beautiful mother weeping, and himself an unconscious little boy wondering at her side. His own natural tears flow as he takes your hand and confidingly asks your sympathy. 'See how good and innocent and beautiful women are,' he says, 'how tender little children! Let us love these and one another, brother—God knows we have need of love and pardon.' So it is each man looks with his own eyes, speaks with his own voice, and prays his own prayer.

When Steele asks your sympathy for the actors in that charming scene of Love and Grief and Death, who can refuse it? One yields to it as to the frank advance of a child, or to the appeal of a woman. A man is seldom more manly than when he is what you call unmanned—the source of his emotion is championship, pity, and courage; the instinctive desire to cherish those who are innocent and unhappy, and defend those who are tender

and weak. If Steele is not our friend he is nothing. He is by no means the most brilliant of wits nor the deepest of thinkers : but he is our friend : we love him, as children love their love with an A, because he is amiable. Who likes a man best because he is the cleverest or the wisest of mankind ; or a woman because she is the most virtuous, or talks French ; or plays the piano better than the rest of her sex ? I own to liking Dick Steele the man, and Dick Steele the author, much better than much better men and much better authors.

The misfortune regarding Steele is, that most part of the company here present must take his amiability upon hearsay, and certainly can't make his intimate acquaintance. Not that Steele was worse than his time ; on the contrary, a far better, truer, and higher-hearted man than most who lived in it. But things were done in that society, and names were named, which would make you shudder now. What would be the sensation of a polite youth of the present day, if at a ball he saw the young object of his affections taking a box out of her pocket and a pinch of snuff : or if at dinner, by the charmer's side, she deliberately put her knife into her mouth ? If she cut her mother's throat with it, mamma would scarcely be more shocked. I allude to these peculiarities of bygone times as an excuse for my favourite, Steele, who was not worse, and often much more delicate than his neighbours.

There exists a curious document descriptive of the manners of the last age, which describes most minutely the amusements and occupations of persons of fashion in London at the time of which we are speaking ; the time of Swift, and Addison, and Steele.

When Lord Sparkish, Tom Neverout, and Colonel Atwit, the immortal personages of Swift's *Polite Conversation*, came to breakfast with my Lady Smart, at eleven o'clock in the morning, my Lord Smart was absent at the levée. His lordship was at home to dinner at three o'clock to receive his guests ; and we may sit down to this meal, like the Barmecide's, and see the fops of the last century before us. Seven of them sat

down at dinner, and were joined by a country baronet, who told them they kept Court hours. These persons of fashion began their dinner with a sirloin of beef, fish, a shoulder of veal, and a tongue. My Lady Smart carved the sirloin, my Lady Answerall helped the fish, and the gallant colonel cut the shoulder of veal. All made a considerable inroad on the sirloin and the shoulder of veal with the exception of Sir John, who had no appetite, having already partaken of a beefsteak and two mugs of ale, besides a tankard of March beer as soon as he got out of bed. They drank claret, which the master of the house said should always be drunk after fish; and my Lord Smart particularly recommended some excellent cider to my Lord Sparkish, which occasioned some brilliant remarks from that nobleman. When the host called for wine, he nodded to one or other of his guests, and said, 'Tom Neverout, my service to you.'

After the first course came almond pudding, fritters, which the colonel took with his hands out of the dish, in order to help the brilliant Miss Notable; chickens, black puddings, and soup; and Lady Smart, the elegant mistress of the mansion, finding a skewer in a dish, placed it in her plate with directions that it should be carried down to the cook and dressed for the cook's own dinner. Wine and small beer were drunk during this second course; and when the colonel called for beer, he called the butler, Friend, and asked whether the beer was good. Various jocular remarks passed from the gentlefolks to the servants; at breakfast several persons had a word and a joke for Mrs. Betty, my lady's maid, who warmed the cream and had charge of the canister (the tea cost thirty shillings a pound in those days). When my Lady Sparkish sent her footman out to my Lady Match to come at six o'clock and play at quadrille, her ladyship warned the man to follow his nose, and if he fell by the way not to stay to get up again. And when the gentlemen asked the hall-porter if his lady was at home, that functionary replied, with manly waggishness, 'She was at home just now, but she 's not gone out yet.'

After the puddings, sweet and black, the fritters and soup, came the third course, of which the chief dish was a hot venison pasty, which was put before Lord Smart, and carved by that nobleman. Besides the pasty, there was a hare, a rabbit, some pigeons, partridges, a goose, and a ham. Beer and wine were freely imbibed during this course, the gentlemen always pledging somebody with every glass which they drank; and by this time the conversation between Tom Neverout and Miss Notable had grown so brisk and lively, that the Derbyshire baronet began to think the young gentlewoman was Tom's sweetheart; on which Miss remarked, that she loved Tom 'like pie'. After the goose, some of the gentlemen took a dram of brandy, 'which was very good for the wholesomes,' Sir John said; and now having had a tolerably substantial dinner, honest Lord Smart bade the butler bring up the great tankard full of October to Sir John. The great tankard was passed from hand to hand and mouth to mouth, but when pressed by the noble host upon the gallant Tom Neverout, he said, 'No faith, my lord, I like your wine, and won't put a churl upon a gentleman. Your honour's claret is good enough for me.' And so, the dinner over, the host said, 'Hang saving, bring us up a ha'porth of cheese.'

The cloth was now taken away, and a bottle of burgundy was set down, of which the ladies were invited to partake before they went to their tea. When they withdrew, the gentlemen promised to join them in an hour; fresh bottles were brought, the 'dead men', meaning the empty bottles, removed; and 'D'you hear, John? bring clean glasses', my Lord Smart said. On which the gallant Colonel Atwit said, 'I'll keep my glass; for wine is the best liquor to wash glasses in.'

After an hour the gentlemen joined the ladies, and then they all sat and played quadrille until three o'clock in the morning, when the chairs and the flambeaux came, and this noble company went to bed.

Such were manners six or seven score years ago. I draw no inference from this queer picture—let all

moralists here present deduce their own. Fancy the moral condition of that society in which a lady of fashion joked with a footman, and carved a great shoulder of veal, and provided besides a sirloin, a goose, hare, rabbit, chickens, partridges, black puddings, and a ham for a dinner for eight Christians. What—what could have been the condition of that polite world in which people openly ate goose after almond pudding, and took their soup in the middle of dinner? Fancy a colonel in the Guards putting his hand into a dish of *beignets d'abricot*, and helping his neighbour, a young lady *du monde!* Fancy a noble lord calling out to the servants, before the ladies at his table, 'Hang expense, bring us a ha'porth of cheese!' Such were the ladies of St. James's—such were the frequenters of White's Chocolate-house, when Swift used to visit it, and Steele described it as the centre of pleasure, gallantry, and entertainment, a hundred and forty years ago!

Dennis, who ran amuck at the literary society of his day, falls foul of poor Steele, and thus depicts him,—'Sir John Edgar, of the county of —— in Ireland, is of a middle stature, broad shoulders, thick legs, a shape like the picture of somebody over a farmer's chimney—a short chin, a short nose, a short forehead, a broad, flat face, and a dusky countenance. . . . Yet with such a shape and such a face, he discovered at sixty that he took himself for a beauty, and appeared to be more mortified upon his being told he was ugly, than he was by any reflection that was ever made upon his honour or his understanding.

'He is a gentleman born, witness himself, of a very honourable family; certainly of a very ancient one, for his ancestors flourished in Tipperary long before the English ever set foot in Ireland. He has testimony of this more authentic than the Heralds' Office, or than any human testimony. For God has marked him more abundantly than he did Cain, and stamped his native country upon his face, his understanding, his writings, his actions, his passions, and, above all, his vanity. The Hibernian brogue is still upon all these, though long

habitude and length of days have worn it from off his tongue.'[1]

Although this portrait is the work of a man who was neither the friend of Steele nor of any other man alive, yet there is a dreadful resemblance to the original in the savage and exaggerated traits of the caricature, and everybody who knows him must recognize Dick Steele.

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[1] Steele replied to Dennis in an *Answer to a Whimsical Pamphlet, called 'The Character of Sir John Edgar'*. What Steele had to say against the cross-grained old critic discovers a great deal of humour:

'Thou never lets the sun into thy garret, for fear he should bring a bailiff along with him. . . .

'Your years are about sixty-five, a damned ugly, vinegar face, that if you had any command you would be obeyed out of fear, from your ill-nature pictured there; not out of any other motive. Your height is about some five foot four inches. You see I can give your exact measure as well as if I had taken your dimension with a good cudgel, which I'll promise you to do as soon as ever I have the good fortune to meet you. . . .

'Your doughty paunch stands before you like a firkin of butter, and your duck-legs seem to be cast for carrying burdens.

'Thy works are libels upon others, and satires upon thyself; and while they bark at men of sense, call him knave and fool that wrote them. Thou hast a great antipathy to thy own species; and hatest the sight of a fool but in thy glass.'

Steele had been kind to Dennis, and once got arrested on account of a pecuniary service which he did him. When John heard of the fact—''Sdeath!' cries John; 'why did not he keep out of the way as I did?'

The *Answer* concludes by mentioning that Cibber had offered Ten Pounds for the discovery of the authorship of Dennis's pamphlet; on which, says Steele,—

'I am only sorry he has offered so much, because the twentieth part would have over-valued his whole carcass. But I know the fellow that he keeps to give answers to his creditors will betray him; for he gave me his word to bring officers on the top of the house that should make a hole through the ceiling of his garret, and so bring him to the punishment he deserves. Some people think this expedient out of the way, and that he would make his escape upon hearing the least noise. I say so too; but it takes him up half an hour every night to fortify himself with his old hair trunk, two or three joint-stools, and some other lumber, which he ties together with cords so fast that it takes him up the same time in the morning to release himself.'

Dick set about almost all the undertakings of his life with inadequate means, and, as he took and furnished a house with the most generous intentions towards his friends, the most tender gallantry towards his wife, and with this only drawback, that he had not wherewithal to pay the rent when quarter-day came,—so, in his life he proposed to himself the most magnificent schemes of virtue, forbearance, public and private good, and the advancement of his own and the national religion; but when he had to pay for these articles—so difficult to purchase and so costly to maintain—poor Dick's money was not forthcoming: and when Virtue called with her little bill, Dick made a shuffling excuse that he could not see her that morning, having a headache from being tipsy overnight; or when stern Duty rapped at the door with his account, Dick was absent and not ready to pay. He was shirking at the tavern; or had some particular business (of somebody's else) at the ordinary: or he was in hiding, or worse than in hiding, in the lock-up house. What a situation for a man!—for a philanthropist—for a lover of right and truth—for a magnificent designer and schemer! Not to dare to look in the face the Religion which he adored and which he had offended: to have to shirk down back lanes and alleys, so as to avoid the friend whom he loved and who had trusted him—to have the house which he had intended for his wife, whom he loved passionately, and for her ladyship's company which he wished to entertain splendidly, in the possession of a bailiff's man, with a crowd of little creditors,—grocers, butchers, and small-coal men, lingering round the door with their bills and jeering at him. Alas! for poor Dick Steele! For nobody else, of course. There is no man or woman in *our* time who makes fine projects and gives them up from idleness or want of means. When Duty calls upon *us*, we no doubt are always at home and ready to pay that grim tax-gatherer. When *we* are stricken with remorse and promise reform, we keep our promise, and are never angry, or idle, or extravagant any more. There are no chambers in *our* hearts, destined

for family friends and affections, and now occupied by some Sin's emissary and bailiff in possession. There are no little sins, shabby peccadilloes, importunate remembrances, or disappointed holders of our promises to reform, hovering at our steps, or knocking at our door! Of course not. We are living in the nineteenth century, and poor Dick Steele stumbled and got up again, and got into jail and out again, and sinned and repented; and loved and suffered; and lived and died scores of years ago. Peace be with him! Let us think gently of one who was so gentle: let us speak kindly of one whose own breast exuberated with human kindness.

LECTURE THE FOURTH

PRIOR, GAY, AND POPE

MATTHEW PRIOR was one of those famous and lucky wits of the auspicious reign of Queen Anne whose name it behoves us not to pass over. Mat was a world-philosopher of no small genius, good nature, and acumen.[1]

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[1] Gay calls him—'Dan Prior . . . beloved by every muse'.—*Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece.* [Epistle vi, l. 91.]

Swift and Prior were very intimate, and he is frequently mentioned in the *Journal to Stella.* 'Mr. Prior,' says Swift, 'walks to make himself fat, and I to bring myself down. . . . We often walk round the park together.' [Feb. 21, 1710–11.]

In Swift's works there is a curious tract called *Remarks on the Characters of the Court of Queen Anne* (Scott's edition, vol. xii). The *Remarks* are not by the Dean; but at the end of each is an addition in italics from his hand, and these are always characteristic. Thus, to the Duke of Marlborough, he adds, '*Detestably Covetous,*' &c. Prior is thus noticed—

'MATTHEW PRIOR, ESQ., Commissioner of Trade.

'On the Queen's accession to the throne, he was continued in his office; is very well at Court with the ministry, and is an entire creature of my Lord Jersey's, whom he supports by his advice; is one of the best poets in England, but very facetious in conversation. A thin, hollow-looked man, turned of 40 years old. *This is near the truth.*'

Yet, counting as far as to fifty his years,
His virtues and vices were as other men's are;
High hopes he conceived and he smothered great fears,
In a life party-coloured—half pleasure, half care.
Nor to business a drudge, nor to faction a slave,
He strove to make interest and freedom agree;
In public employments industrious and grave,
And alone with his friends, Lord, how merry was he!
Now in equipage stately, now humbly on foot,
Both fortunes he tried, but to neither would trust;
And whirled in the round as the wheel turned about,
He found riches had wings, and knew man was but dust.

PRIOR'S *Poems.* ['For my own monument.']

He loved, he drank, he sang. He describes himself, in one of his lyrics, 'in a little Dutch chaise on a Saturday night; on his left hand his Horace, and a friend on his right,' going out of town from the Hague to pass that evening and the ensuing Sunday, boozing at a *Spielhaus* with his companion, perhaps bobbing for perch in a Dutch canal, and noting down, in a strain and with a grace not unworthy of his Epicurean master, the charms of his idleness, his retreat, and his Batavian Chloe. A vintner's son in Whitehall, and a distinguished pupil of Busby of the Rod, Prior attracted some notice by writing verses at St. John's College, Cambridge, and, coming up to town, aided Montague[1] in an attack on the noble old English lion John Dryden, in ridicule of whose work, *The Hind and the Panther*, he brought out that remarkable and famous burlesque, *The Town and Country Mouse*. Are not you all acquainted with it? Have you not all got it by heart? What! have you never heard of it? See what fame is made of! The wonderful part of the satire was, that, as a natural consequence of *The Town and Country Mouse*, Matthew Prior was made Secretary of Embassy at the Hague! I believe it is dancing, rather than singing, which distinguishes the young English diplomatists of the present day; and have seen them in various parts of Europe perform that part of their duty very finely. In Prior's time, it appears, a different accomplishment led to preferment. Could you write a copy of Alcaics? that was the question. Could you turn out a neat epigram or two? Could you compose *The Town and Country Mouse?* It is manifest that, by the possession of this faculty, the most difficult treaties, the laws of foreign nations, and

[1] 'They joined to produce a parody, entitled *The Town and Country Mouse*, part of which Mr. Bayes is supposed to gratify his old friends Smith and Johnson, by repeating to them. The piece is therefore founded upon the twice-told jest of the *Rehearsal*. . . . There is nothing new or original in the idea. . . . In this piece, Prior, though the younger man, seems to have had by far the larger share.'—Scott's *Dryden*, vol. i, p. 330. [(1821) Sect. 6.]

the interests of our own, are easily understood. Prior rose in the diplomatic service, and said good things that proved his sense and his spirit. When the apartments at Versailles were shown to him, with the victories of Louis XIV painted on the walls, and Prior was asked whether the palace of the King of England had any such decorations, 'The monuments of my master's actions,' Mat said, of William, whom he cordially revered, 'are to be seen everywhere except in his own house.' Bravo, Mat! Prior rose to be full ambassador at Paris,[1] where he somehow was cheated out of his ambassadorial plate; and in a heroic poem, addressed by him to her late lamented Majesty Queen Anne, Mat makes some magnificent allusions to these dishes and spoons, of which Fate had deprived him. All that he wants, he says, is her Majesty's picture; without that he can't be happy.

Thee, gracious Anne, thee present I adore,
Thee, Queen of Peace—If Time and Fate have power
Higher to raise the glories of thy reign;
In words sublimer and a nobler strain,
May future bards the mighty theme rehearse.
Here, Stator Jove, and Phoebus, king of verse,
The votive tablet I suspend.

With that word the poem stops abruptly. The votive tablet is suspended for ever like Mahomet's coffin. News came that the queen was dead. Stator Jove, and

[1] He was to have been in the same commission with the Duke of Shrewsbury, but that that nobleman, says Johnson, 'refused to be associated with a man so meanly born. Prior therefore continued to act without a title till the duke returned next year to England, and then he assumed the style and dignity of ambassador.' [*Life of Prior*, p. 13.]

He had been thinking of slights of this sort when he wrote his Epitaph:—

Nobles and heralds by your leave,
Here lies what once was Matthew Prior,
The son of Adam and of Eve;
Can Bourbon or Nassau claim higher?

But, in this case, the old prejudice got the better of the old joke.

Phoebus, king of verse, were left there, hovering to this day, over the votive tablet. The picture was never got any more than the spoons and dishes—the inspiration ceased—the verses were not wanted—the ambassador wasn't wanted. Poor Mat was recalled from his embassy, suffered disgrace along with his patrons, lived under a sort of cloud ever after, and disappeared in Essex. When deprived of all his pensions and emoluments, the hearty and generous Oxford pensioned him. They played for gallant stakes—the bold men of those days—and lived and gave splendidly.

Johnson quotes from Spence a legend, that Prior, after spending an evening with Harley, St. John, Pope, and Swift, would go off and smoke a pipe with a couple of friends of his, a soldier and his wife, in Long Acre. Those who have not read his late excellency's poems should be warned that they smack not a little of the conversation of his Long Acre friends. Johnson speaks slightingly of his lyrics; but with due deference to the great Samuel, Prior's seem to me amongst the easiest, the richest, the most charmingly humorous of English lyrical poems.[1] Horace is always in his mind, and his

[1] His epigrams have the genuine sparkle:

THE REMEDY WORSE THAN THE DISEASE.

I sent for Radcliffe; was so ill,
That other doctors gave me over:
He felt my pulse, prescribed his pill,
And I was likely to recover.

But when the wit began to wheeze,
And wine had warmed the politician,
Cured yesterday of my disease,
I died last night of my physician.

Yes, every poet is a fool;
By demonstration Ned can show it;
Happy could Ned's inverted rule
Prove every fool to be a poet.

On his death-bed poor Lubin lies,
His spouse is in despair;
With frequent sobs and mutual cries,
They both express their care.

song; and his philosophy, his good sense, his happy easy turns and melody, his loves, and his Epicureanism, bear a great resemblance to that most delightful and accomplished master. In reading his works, one is struck with their modern air, as well as by their happy similarity to the songs of the charming owner of the Sabine farm. In his verses addressed to Halifax, he says, writing of that endless theme to poets, the vanity of human wishes—

So when in fevered dreams we sink,
And, waking, taste what we desire,
The real draught but feeds the fire,
The dream is better than the drink.

Our hopes like towering falcons aim
At objects in an airy height:
To stand aloof and view the flight,
Is all the pleasure of the game.

Would not you fancy that a poet of our own days was singing? and, in the verses of Chloe weeping and reproaching him for his inconstancy, where he says—

The God of us verse-men, you know, child, the Sun
How after his journeys, he sets up his rest.
If at morning o'er earth 'tis his fancy to run,
At night he declines on his Thetis's breast.

So, when I am wearied with wandering all day,
To thee, my delight, in the evening I come:
No matter what beauties I saw in my way;
They were but my visits, but thou art my home.

Then finish, dear Chloe, this pastoral war,
And let us like Horace and Lydia agree;
For thou art a girl as much brighter than her,
As he was a poet sublimer than me.

If Prior read Horace, did not Thomas Moore study

'A different cause,' says Parson Sly,
'The same effect may give;
Poor Lubin fears that he shall die,
His wife that he may live.'

Prior? Love and pleasure find singers in all days. Roses are always blowing and fading—to-day as in that pretty time when Prior sang of them, and of Chloe lamenting their decay—

She sighed, she smiled, and to the flowers
  Pointing, the lovely moralist said:
'See, friend, in some few fleeting hours,
  See yonder what a change is made!

'Ah, me! the blooming pride of May,
  And that of Beauty are but one:
At morn both flourish, bright and gay,
  Both fade at evening, pale and gone.

'At dawn poor Stella danced and sung,
  The amorous youth around her bowed,
At night her fatal knell was rung;
  I saw, and kissed her in her shroud.

'Such as she is who died to-day,
  Such I, alas, may be to-morrow:
Go, Damon, bid thy Muse display
  The justice of thy Chloe's sorrow.'

Damon's knell was rung in 1721. May his turf lie lightly on him! *Deus sit propitius huic potatori*, as Walter de Mapes sang.[1] Perhaps Samuel Johnson,

[1] PRIOR TO SIR THOMAS HANMER.

'West^r., Aug. 4, 1709.

'DEAR SIR,

'Friendship may live, I grant you, without being fed and cherished by correspondence; but with that additional benefit I am of opinion it will look more cheerful and thrive better: for in this case, as in love, though a man is sure of his own constancy, yet his happiness depends a good deal upon the sentiment of another, and while you and Chloe are alive, 'tis not enough that I love you both, except I am sure you both love me again; and as one of her scrawls fortifies my mind more against affliction than all Epictetus, with Simplicius's comments into the bargain, so your single letter gave me more real pleasure than all the works of Plato. . . . I must return my answer to your very kind question concerning my health. The Bath waters have done a good deal towards the recovery

who spoke slightingly of Prior's verses, enjoyed them more than he was willing to own. The old moralist

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of it, and the great specific, *Cape Caballum*, will, I think, confirm it. Upon this head I must tell you that my mare Betty grows blind, and may one day, by breaking my neck, perfect my cure: if at Rixham fair any pretty nagg that is between thirteen and fourteen hands presented himself, and you would be pleased to purchase him for me, one of your servants might ride him to Euston, and I might receive him there. This, sir, is just as such a thing happens. If you hear, too, of a Welch widow, with a good jointure, that has her *goings* and is not very skittish, pray, be pleased to cast your eye on her for me, too. You see, sir, the great trust I repose in your skill and honour, when I dare put two such commissions in your hand. . . .'—*The Hanmer Correspondence*, p. 120.

FROM MR. PRIOR.

'Paris, 1st–12th May, 1714.

'My dear Lord and Friend,

'Matthew had never so great occasion to write a word to Henry as now: it is noised here that I am soon to return. The question that I wish I could answer to the many that ask, and to our friend Colbert de Torcy (to whom I made your compliments in the manner you commanded) is, What is done for me: and to what I am recalled? It may look like a bagatelle, what is to become of a philosopher like me; but it is not such, what is to become of a person who had the honour to be chosen, and sent hither as intrusted, in the midst of a war, with what the Queen designed should make the peace; returning with the Lord Bolingbroke, one of the greatest men in England, and one of the finest heads in Europe (as they say here, if true or not, *n'importe*); having been left by him in the greatest character (that of Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary), exercising that power conjointly with the Duke of Shrewsbury, and solely after his departure; having here received more distinguished honour than any minister, except an Ambassador, ever did, and some which were never given to any, but who had that character; having had all the success that could be expected, having (God be thanked!) spared no pains, at a time when at home the peace is voted safe and honourable—at a time when the Earl of Oxford is Lord Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke First Secretary of State, this unfortunate person, I say, neglected, forgot, unnamed to anything that may speak the Queen satisfied with his services, or his friends concerned as to his fortune.

'Monsieur de Torcy put me quite out of countenance, the other day, by a pity that wounded me deeper than ever did the cruelty of the late Lord Godolphin. He said he would write to Robin and Harry about me. God forbid, my lord, that

had studied them as well as Mr. Thomas Moore, and defended them, and showed that he remembered them very well too, on an occasion when their morality was

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I should need any foreign intercession, or owe the least to any Frenchman living, besides decency of behaviour and the returns of common civility. Some say I am to go to Baden, others that I am to be added to the Commissioners for settling the commerce; in all cases I am ready, but in the meantime, *dic aliquid de tribus capèllis;* neither of these two are, I presume, honours or rewards, neither of them (let me say to my dear Lord Bolingbroke, and let him not be angry with me), are what Drift may aspire to, and what Mr. Whitworth, who was his fellow clerk, has or may possess. I am far from desiring to lessen the great merit of the gentleman I named, for I heartily esteem and love him; but in this trade of ours, my lord, in which you are the general, as in that of the soldiery, there is a certain right acquired by time and long service. You would do anything for your Queen's service, but you would not be contented to descend, and be degraded to a charge no way proportioned to that of Secretary of State, any more than Mr. Ross, though he would charge a party with a halbard in his hand, would be content all his life after to be a Serjeant. Was my Lord Dartmouth, from Secretary, returned again to be Commissioner of Trade; or from Secretary of War, would Frank Gwyn think himself kindly used to be returned again to be Commissioner? In short, my lord, you have put me above myself, and if I am to return to myself, I shall return to something very discontented and uneasy. I am sure, my lord, you will make the best use you can of this hint for my good. If I am to have anything, it will certainly be for her Majesty's service, and the credit of my friends in the Ministry, that it be done before I am recalled from hence, lest the world may think either that I have merited to be disgraced, or that ye dare not stand by me. If nothing is to be done, *fiat voluntas Dei.* I have writ to Lord Treasurer upon this subject, and having implored your kind intercession, I promise you it is the last remonstrance of this kind that I will ever make. Adieu, my lord; all honour, health, and pleasure to you.

'Yours ever,

'MATT.

'PS.—Lady Jerscy is just gone from me. We drank your health together in usquebaugh after our tea: we are the greatest friends alive. Once more adieu. There is no such thing as the books of Travels you mentioned; if there be, let friend Tilson send us more particular account of them, for neither I nor Jacob Tonson can find them. Pray send Barton back to me, and I hope with some comfortable tidings.'—*Bolingbroke's Letters.*

called in question by that noted puritan, James Boswell, Esq., of Auchinleck.[1]

In the great society of the wits, JOHN GAY deserved to be a favourite, and to have a good place.[2] In his set all were fond of him. His success offended nobody. He missed a fortune once or twice. He was talked of for Court favour, and hoped to win it; but the Court favour jilted him. Craggs gave him some South-Sea Stock; and at one time Gay had very nearly made his fortune. But Fortune shook her swift wings and jilted him too: and so his friends, instead of being angry with him, and jealous of him, were kind and fond of honest

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'I asked whether Prior's poems were to be printed entire; Johnson said they were. I mentioned Lord Hailes's censure of Prior in his preface to a collection of sacred poems, by various hands, published by him at Edinburgh a great many years ago, where he mentions "those impure tales, which will be the eternal opprobrium of their ingenious author". JOHNSON: "Sir, Lord Hailes has forgot. There is nothing in Prior that will excite to lewdness. If Lord Hailes thinks there is, he must be more combustible than other people." I instanced the tale of *Paulo Purganti and his Wife*. JOHNSON: "Sir, there is nothing there but that his wife wanted to be kissed, when poor Paulo was out of pocket. No, sir, Prior is a lady's book. No lady is ashamed to have it standing in her library.'—BOSWELL'S *Life of Johnson*. [anno 1777.]

[2] Gay was of an old Devonshire family, but his pecuniary prospects not being great, was placed in his youth in the house of a silk-mercer in London. He was born in 1688—Pope's year, and in 1712 the Duchess of Monmouth made him her secretary. Next year he published his *Rural Sports*, which he dedicated to Pope, and so made an acquaintance, which became a memorable friendship.

'Gay,' says Pope, 'was quite a natural man,—wholly without art or design, and spoke just what he thought and as he thought it. He dangled for twenty years about a Court, and at last was offered to be made usher to the young princesses. Secretary Craggs made Gay a present of stock in the South-Sea year; and he was once worth 20,000*l*., but lost it all again. He got about 400*l*. by the first *Beggar's Opera*, and 1,100*l*. or 1,200*l*. by the second. He was negligent and a bad manager. Latterly, the Duke of Queensberry took his money into his keeping, and let him have only what was necessary out of it, and, as he lived with them, he could not have occasion for much. He died worth upwards of 3,000*l*.'—POPE (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 214.]

Gay. In the portraits of the literary worthies of the early part of the last century, Gay's face is the pleasantest perhaps of all. It appears adorned with neither periwig nor nightcap (the full dress and *negligée* of learning, without which the painters of those days scarcely ever portrayed wits), and he laughs at you over his shoulder with an honest boyish glee—an artless sweet humour. He was so kind, so gentle, so jocular, so delightfully brisk at times, so dismally woebegone at others, such a natural good creature, that the Giants loved him. The great Swift was gentle and sportive with him,[1] as the enormous Brobdingnag maids of honour were with little Gulliver. He could frisk and fondle round Pope,[2] and sport, and bark, and caper without offending the most thin-skinned of poets and men; and when he was jilted in that little Court affair of which we have spoken, his warmhearted patrons the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry[3] (the 'Kitty, beautiful and young', of

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[1] 'Mr. Gay is, in all regards, as honest and sincere a man as ever I knew.'—SWIFT, *to Lady Betty Germain*, Jan. [8, 1732–3.]

[2]
Of manners gentle, of affections mild;
In wit a man; simplicity, a child;
With native humour temp'ring virtuous rage,
Form'd to delight at once and lash the age;
Above temptation in a low estate,
And uncorrupted e'en among the great:
A safe companion, and an easy friend,
Unblamed through life, lamented in thy end.
These are thy honours; not that here thy bust
Is mix'd with heroes, or with kings thy dust;
But that the worthy and the good shall say,
Striking their pensive bosoms, '*Here* lies Gay.'
POPE'S *Epitaph on Gay*

A hare who, in a civil way,
Complied with everything, like Gay.
Fables, 'The Hare and Many Friends.'

[3] 'I can give you no account of Gay,' says Pope, curiously, 'since he was raffled for, and won back by his Duchess.'—*Works*, Roscoe's ed., vol. ix, p. 392. [*Letter to Fortescue* of September 13, ? 1726.]

Here is the letter Pope wrote to him when the death of Queen Anne brought back Lord Clarendon from Hanover, and lost him

Prior) pleaded his cause with indignation, and quitted the Court in a huff, carrying off with them into their

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the secretaryship of that nobleman, of which he had had but a short tenure.

Gay's Court prospects were never happy from this time.—His dedication of *The Shepherd's Week* to Bolingbroke, Swift used to call the 'original sin', which had hurt him with the house of Hanover.

'Sept. 23, 1714.

'DEAR MR. GAY,

'Welcome to your native soil! welcome to your friends! thrice welcome to me! whether returned in glory, blest with Court interest, the love and familiarity of the great, and filled with agreeable hopes; or melancholy with dejection, contemplative of the changes of fortune, and doubtful for the future; whether returned a triumphant Whig or a desponding Tory, equally all hail! equally beloved and welcome to me! If happy, I am to partake in your elevation; if unhappy, you have still a warm corner in my heart, and a retreat at Binfield in the worst of times at your service. If you are a Tory, or thought so by any man, I know it can proceed from nothing but your gratitude to a few people who endeavoured to serve you, and whose politics were never your concern. If you are a Whig, as I rather hope, and as I think your principles and mine (as brother poets) had ever a bias to the side of liberty, I know you will be an honest man and an inoffensive one. Upon the whole, I know you are incapable of being so much of either party as to be good for nothing. Therefore, once more, whatever you are or in whatever state you are, all hail!

'One or two of your own friends complained they had heard nothing from you since the Queen's death; I told them no man living loved Mr. Gay better than I, yet I had not once written to him in all his voyage. This I thought a convincing proof, how truly one may be a friend to another without telling him so every month. But they had reasons, too, themselves to allege in your excuse; as men who really value one another will never want such as make their friends and themselves easy. The late universal concern in public affairs threw us all into a hurry of spirits: even I, who am more a philosopher than to expect anything from any reign, was borne away with the current, and full of the expectation of the successor. During your journeys, I knew not whither to aim a letter after you; that was a sort of shooting flying: add to this the demand Homer had upon me, to write fifty verses a day, besides learned notes, all which are at a conclusion for this year. Rejoice with me, O my friend! that my labour is over; come and make merry with me in much feasting. We will feed among the lilies (by the lilies I mean the

retirement their kind gentle protégé. With these kind lordly folks, a real Duke and Duchess, as delightful as those who harboured Don Quixote, and loved the dear old Sancho, Gay lived, and was lapped in cotton, and had his plate of chicken, and his saucer of cream, and frisked, and barked, and wheezed, and grew fat, and so ended.[1] He became very melancholy and lazy, sadly plethoric, and only occasionally diverting in his latter days. But everybody loved him, and the remembrance of his pretty little tricks; and the raging old Dean of St. Patrick's, chafing in his banishment, was afraid to open the letter which Pope wrote him, announcing the sad news of the death of Gay.[2]

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ladies). Are not the Rosalindas of Britain as charming as the Blousalindas of the Hague? or have the two great Pastoral poets of our nation renounced love at the same time? for Philips, immortal Philips, hath deserted, yea, and in a rustic manner kicked his Rosalind. Dr. Parnell and I have been inseparable ever since you went. We are now at the Bath, where (if you are not, as I heartily hope, better engaged) your coming would be the greatest pleasure to us in the world. Talk not of expenses: Homer shall support his children. I beg a line from you, directed to the Post-house in Bath. Poor Parnell is in an ill state of health.

'Pardon me if I add a word of advice in the poetical way. Write something on the King, or Prince, or Princess. On whatsoever foot you may be with the court, this can do no harm. I shall never know where to end, and am confounded in the many things I have to say to you, though they all amount but to this, that I am, entirely, as ever, 'Your,' &c.

Gay took the advice 'in the poetical way', and published *An Epistle to a Lady, occasioned by the arrival of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales*. But, though this brought him access to Court, and the attendance of the Prince and Princess at his farce of the *What d'ye call it?* it did not bring him a place. On the accession of George II, he was offered the situation of Gentleman Usher to the Princess Louisa (her Highness being then two years old); but 'by this offer', says Johnson, 'he thought himself insulted.'

[1] 'Gay was a great eater.—As the French philosopher used to prove his existence by *cogito, ergo sum*, the greatest proof of Gay's existence is, *edit, ergo est*.'—CONGREVE, *in a Letter to Pope* (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 13.]

[2] Swift indorsed the letter—'On my dear friend Mr. Gay's

Swift's letters to him are beautiful; and having no purpose but kindness in writing to him, no party aim to advocate, or slight or anger to wreak, every word the Dean says to his favourite is natural, trustworthy, and kindly. His admiration for Gay's parts and honesty, and his laughter at his weaknesses, were alike just and genuine. He paints his character in wonderful pleasant traits of jocular satire. 'I writ lately to Mr. Pope,' Swift says, writing to Gay; 'I wish you had a little villakin in his neighbourhood; but you are yet too volatile, and any lady with a coach and six horses would carry you to Japan.' 'If your ramble,' says Swift, in another letter, 'was on horseback, I am glad of it, on account of your health; but I know your arts of patching up a journey between stage-coaches and friends' coaches—for you are as arrant a cockney as any hosier in Cheapside. . . . I have often had it in my head to put it into yours, that you ought to have some great work in scheme, which may take up seven years to finish, besides two or three under-ones that may add another thousand pound to your stock, and then I shall be in less pain about you. I know you can find dinners, but you love twelvepenny coaches too well, without considering that the interest of a whole thousand pounds brings you but half a crown a day:' and then

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death; received December 15th, but not read till the 20th, by an impulse foreboding some misfortune.'

'It was by Swift's interest that Gay was made known to Lord Bolingbroke, and obtained his patronage.'—SCOTT'S *Swift*, vol. i, p. 156. [Sect. 3.]

Pope wrote on the occasion of Gay's death, to Swift, thus:—

'December 5, 1732.

'. . . One of the nearest and longest ties I have ever had is broken all on a sudden by the unexpected death of poor Mr. Gay. An inflammatory fever hurried him out of this life in three days. . . . He asked of you a few hours before when in acute torment by the inflammation in his bowels and breast. . . . His sisters, we suppose, will be his heirs, who are two widows . . . Good God! how often are we to die before we go quite off this stage? In every friend we lose a part of ourselves, and the best part. God keep those we have left! few are worth praying for, and one's self the least of all.'

Swift goes off from Gay to pay some grand compliments to her Grace the Duchess of Queensberry, in whose sunshine Mr. Gay was basking, and in whose radiance the Dean would have liked to warm himself too.

But we have Gay here before us, in these letters—lazy, kindly, uncommonly idle; rather slovenly, I'm afraid; for ever eating and saying good things; a little, round, French abbé of a man, sleek, soft-handed, and soft-hearted.

Our object in these lectures is rather to describe the men than their works; or to deal with the latter only in as far as they seem to illustrate the character of their writers. Mr. Gay's *Fables*, which were written to benefit that amiable prince, the Duke of Cumberland, the warrior of Dettingen and Culloden, I have not, I own, been able to peruse since a period of very early youth; and it must be confessed that they did not effect much benefit upon the illustrious young prince, whose manners they were intended to mollify, and whose natural ferocity our gentle-hearted Satirist perhaps proposed to restrain. But the six pastorals called *The Shepherd's Week*, and the burlesque poem of *Trivia* any man fond of lazy literature will find delightful, at the present day, and must read from beginning to end with pleasure. They are to poetry what charming little Dresden china figures are to sculpture: graceful, minikin, fantastic; with a certain beauty always accompanying them. The pretty little personages of the pastoral, with gold clocks to their stockings, and fresh satin ribbons to their crooks and waistcoats and bodices, dance their loves to a minuet-tune played on a bird-organ, approach the charmer, or rush from the false one daintily on their red-heeled tiptoes, and die of despair or rapture, with the most pathetic little grins and ogles; or repose, simpering at each other, under an arbour of pea-green crockery; or piping to pretty flocks that have just been washed with the best Naples in a stream of Bergamot. Gay's gay plan seems to me far pleasanter than that of Philips—his rival and Pope's—a serious and dreary idyllic Cockney; not that Gay's 'Bumkinets and Hobnelias' are a whit more natural than the would-be

serious characters of the other posture-master ; but the quality of this true humourist was to laugh and make laugh, though always with a secret kindness and tenderness, to perform the drollest little antics and capers, but always with a certain grace, and to sweet music—as you may have seen a Savoyard boy abroad, with a hurdy-gurdy and a monkey, turning over head and heels, or clattering and pirouetting in a pair of wooden shoes, yet always with a look of love and appeal in his bright eyes, and a smile that asks and wins affection and protection. Happy they who have that sweet gift of nature ! It was this which made the great folks and Court ladies free and friendly with John Gay—which made Pope and Arbuthnot love him—which melted the savage heart of Swift when he thought of him—and drove away, for a moment or two, the dark frenzies which obscured the lonely tyrant's brain, as he heard Gay's voice with its simple melody and artless ringing laughter.

What used to be said about Rubini, *qu'il avait des larmes dans la voix*, may be said of Gay,[1] and of one other humourist of whom we shall have to speak. In almost every ballad of his, however slight,[2] in the *Beggar's*

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[1] 'Gay, like Goldsmith, had a musical talent. "He could play on the flute," says Singer, "and was, therefore, enabled to adapt so happily some of the airs in the *Beggar's Opera*." '—*Notes to* SPENCE. [p. 312.]

[2] 'Twas when the seas were roaring
With hollow blasts of wind,
A damsel lay deploring
All on a rock reclined.
Wide o'er the foaming billows
She cast a wistful look ;
Her head was crown'd with willows
That trembled o'er the brook.

'Twelve months are gone and over,
And nine long tedious days ;
Why didst thou, venturous lover—
Why didst thou trust the seas ?
Cease, cease, thou cruel Ocean,
And let my lover rest ;
Ah ! what's thy troubled motion
To that within my breast ?

Opera[1] and in its wearisome continuation (where the verses are to the full as pretty as in the first piece,

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'The merchant robb'd of pleasure,
Sees tempests in despair;
But what's the loss of treasure
To losing of my dear?
Should you some coast be laid on,
Where gold and diamonds grow,
You'd find a richer maiden,
But none that loves you so.

'How can they say that Nature
Has nothing made in vain;
Why, then, beneath the water
Should hideous rocks remain?
No eyes the rocks discover
That lurk beneath the deep,
To wreck the wandering lover,
And leave the maid to weep?'

All melancholy lying,
Thus wail'd she for her dear;
Repay'd each blast with sighing,
Each billow with a tear;
When o'er the white wave stooping,
His floating corpse she spy'd;
Then, like a lily drooping,
She bow'd her head, and died.

A Ballad, from the '*What d'ye call it?*'

'What can be prettier than Gay's ballad, or, rather, Swift's, Arbuthnot's, Pope's, and Gay's, in the *What d'ye call it?* "'Twas when the seas were roaring"? I have been well informed, that they all contributed.'—Cowper to Unwin, [Aug. 4,] 1783.

[1] 'Dr. Swift had been observing once to Mr. Gay, what an odd pretty sort of thing a Newgate Pastoral might make. Gay was inclined to try at such a thing for some time, but afterwards thought it would be better to write a comedy on the same plan. This was what gave rise to the *Beggar's Opera*. He began on it, and when first he mentioned it to Swift, the Doctor did not much like the project. As he carried it on, he showed what he wrote to both of us; and we now and then gave a correction, or a word or two of advice; but it was wholly of his own writing. When it was done, neither of us thought it would succeed. We showed it to Congreve, who, after reading it over, said, "It would either take greatly, or be damned confoundedly." We were all at the first night of it, in great uncertainty of the event, till we were very much encouraged by overhearing the Duke of Argyle,

however), there is a peculiar, hinted, pathetic sweetness and melody. It charms and melts you. It is indefinable, but it exists; and is the property of John Gay's and Oliver Goldsmith's best verse, as fragrance is of a violet, or freshness of a rose.

Let me read a piece from one of his letters, which is so famous that most people here are no doubt familiar with it, but so delightful that it is always pleasant to hear :—

'I have just passed part of this summer at an old romantic seat of my Lord Harcourt's, which he lent me. It overlooks a common field, where, under the shade of a haycock, sat two lovers—as constant as ever were found in romance—beneath a spreading beech. The name of the one (let it sound as it will) was John Hewet; of the other, Sarah Drew. John was a well-set man, about five-and-twenty; Sarah, a brown woman of eighteen. John had for several months borne the labour of the day in the same field with Sarah; when she milked, it was his morning and evening charge to bring the cows to her pail. Their love was the talk, but not the scandal, of the whole neighbourhood, for all they aimed at was the blameless possession of each other in marriage. It was but this very morning that he had obtained her parents' consent, and it was but till the next week that they were to wait to be happy. Perhaps this very day, in the intervals of their work, they were talking of their wedding clothes; and John was now matching several kinds of poppies and field-flowers to her complexion, to make her a present of knots for the day. While they were thus employed (it was on the last of July), a terrible storm of thunder and lightning arose, that drove the labourers to what shelter the trees or hedges afforded. Sarah, frighted and out of breath, sunk on a haycock; and John (who never separated from her) sat by her side, having raked two or three heaps together, to secure her. Immediately, there was heard so loud a crack, as if heaven had burst asunder. The labourers, all solicitous for each other's safety, called to one another: those that were nearest our lovers, hearing no answer, stepped to the place where they lay: they first saw a little smoke, and after, this faithful pair—John, with one arm about his Sarah's neck, and the

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who sat in the next box to us, say, "It will do—it must do!—I see it in the eyes of them!" This was a good while before the first Act was over, and so gave us ease soon; for the Duke (besides his own good taste) has a more particular knack than any one now living in discovering the taste of the public. He was quite right in this as usual; the good nature of the audience appeared stronger and stronger every act, and ended in a clamour of applause.'—POPE (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 159.]

other held over her face, as if to screen her from the lightning. They were struck dead, and already grown stiff and cold in this tender posture. There was no mark or discolouring on their bodies—only that Sarah's eyebrow was a little singed, and a small spot between her breasts. They were buried the next day in one grave!'

And the proof that this description is delightful and beautiful is, that the great Mr. POPE admired it so much that he thought proper to steal it and to send it off to a certain lady and wit, with whom he pretended to be in love in those days—my Lord Duke of Kingston's daughter, and married to Mr. Wortley Montagu, then his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

We are now come to the greatest name on our list—the highest among the poets, the highest among the English wits and humourists with whom we have to rank him. If the author of the *Dunciad* be not a humourist, if the poet of the *Rape of the Lock* be not a wit, who deserves to be called so? Besides that brilliant genius and immense fame, for both of which we should respect him, men of letters should admire him as being one of the greatest literary *artists* that England has seen. He polished, he refined, he thought; he took thoughts from other works to adorn and complete his own; borrowing an idea or a cadence from another poet as he would a figure or a simile from a flower, or a river, stream, or any object which struck him in his walk, or contemplation of Nature. He began to imitate at an early age;[1]

[1] 'Waller, Spenser, and Dryden were Mr. Pope's great favourites, in the order they are named, in his first reading, till he was about twelve years old.'—POPE (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 8.]

'Mr. Pope's father (who was an honest merchant, and dealt in Hollands, wholesale) was no poet, but he used to set him to make English verses when very young. He was pretty difficult in being pleased; and used often to send him back to new turn them. "These are not good rhimes;" for that was my husband's word for verses.'—POPE'S MOTHER (*Spence*). [*Ib.*]

'I wrote things, I'm ashamed to say how soon. Part of an Epic Poem when about twelve. The scene of it lay at Rhodes, and some of the neighbouring islands; and the poem opened under water with a description of the Court of Neptune.'—POPE (*ibid.*). [p. 24.]

and taught himself to write by copying printed books. Then he passed into the hands of the priests, and from his first clerical master, who came to him when he was eight years old, he went to a school at Twyford, and another school at Hyde Park, at which places he unlearned all that he had got from his first instructor. At twelve years old, he went with his father into Windsor Forest, and there learned for a few months under a fourth priest. 'And this was all the teaching I ever had,' he said, 'and God knows it extended a very little way.'

When he had done with his priests he took to reading by himself, for which he had a very great eagerness and enthusiasm, especially for poetry. He learned versification from Dryden, he said. In his youthful poem of *Alcander*, he imitated every poet, Cowley, Milton, Spenser, Statius, Homer, Virgil. In a few years he had dipped into a great number of the English, French, Italian, Latin, and Greek poets. 'This I did,' he says, 'without any design, but that of pleasing myself; and got the languages by hunting after the stories in the several poets I read, rather than read the books to get the languages. I followed everywhere as my fancy led me, and was like a boy gathering flowers in the fields and woods, just as they fall in his way. These five or six years I still look upon as the happiest part of my life.' Is not here a beautiful holiday picture? The

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'His perpetual application (after he set to study of himself) reduced him in four years' time to so bad a state of health, that, after trying physicians for a good while in vain, he resolved to give way to his distemper; and sat down calmly in a full expectation of death in a short time. Under this thought, he wrote letters to take a last farewell of some of his more particular friends, and, among the rest, one to the Abbé Southcote. The Abbé was extremely concerned, both for his very ill state of health and the resolution he said he had taken. He thought there might yet be hopes, and went immediately to Dr. Radcliffe, with whom he was well acquainted, told him Mr. Pope's case, got full directions from him, and carried them down to Mr. Pope in Windsor Forest. The chief thing the Doctor ordered him was to apply less, and to ride every day. The following his advice soon restored him to his health.'—POPE (*ibid.*). [p. 7.]

forest and the fairy story-book—the boy spelling Ariosto or Virgil under the trees, battling with the Cid for the love of Chimène, or dreaming of Armida's garden—peace and sunshine round about—the kindest love and tenderness waiting for him at his quiet home yonder—and Genius throbbing in his young heart, and whispering to him, 'You shall be great; you shall be famous; you, too, shall love and sing; you will sing her so nobly that some kind heart shall forget you are weak and ill-formed. Every poet had a love. Fate must give one to you too,'—and day by day he walks the forest, very likely looking out for that charmer. 'They were the happiest days of his life,' he says, when he was only dreaming of his fame: when he had gained that mistress she was no consoler.

That charmer made her appearance, it would seem, about the year 1705, when Pope was seventeen. Letters of his are extant, addressed to a certain Lady M——, whom the youth courted, and to whom he expressed his ardour in language, to say no worse of it, that is entirely pert, odious, and affected. He imitated love compositions as he had been imitating love poems just before—it was a sham mistress he courted, and a sham passion, expressed as became it. These unlucky letters found their way into print years afterwards, and were sold to the congenial Mr. Curll. If any of my hearers, as I hope they may, should take a fancy to look at Pope's correspondence, let them pass over that first part of it; over, perhaps, almost all Pope's letters to women; in which there is a tone of not pleasant gallantry, and, amidst a profusion of compliments and politenesses, a something which makes one distrust the little pert, prurient bard. There is very little indeed to say about his loves, and that little not edifying. He wrote flames and raptures and elaborate verse and prose for Lady Mary Wortley Montagu; but that passion probably came to a climax in an impertinence and was extinguished by a box on the ear, or some such rebuff, and he began on a sudden to hate her with a fervour much more genuine than that of his love had been. It was a feeble, puny grimace of

love, and paltering with passion. After Mr. Pope had sent off one of his fine compositions to Lady Mary, he made a second draft from the rough copy, and favoured some other friend with it. He was so charmed with the letter of Gay's, that I have just quoted, that he had copied that and amended it, and sent it to Lady Mary as his own. A gentleman who writes letters *à deux fins*, and after having poured out his heart to the beloved, serves up the same dish *rechauffé* to a friend, is not very much in earnest about his loves, however much he may be in his piques and vanities when his impertinence gets its due.

But, save that unlucky part of the Pope Correspondence, I do not know, in the range of our literature, volumes more delightful.[1] You live in them in the finest

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[1] MR. POPE TO THE REV. MR. BROOME, PULHAM, NORFOLK.

'August 29, 1730.

'DEAR SIR,—

'I intended to write to you on this melancholy subject, the death of Mr. Fenton, before yours came, but stayed to have informed myself and you of the circumstances of it. All I hear is, that he felt a gradual decay, though so early in life, and was declining for five or six months. It was not, as I apprehended, the gout in his stomach, but, I believe, rather a complication first of gross humours, as he was naturally corpulent, not discharging themselves, as he used no sort of exercise. No man better bore the approaches of his dissolution (as I am told), or with less ostentation yielded up his being. The great modesty which you know was natural to him, and the great contempt he had for all sorts of vanity and parade, never appeared more than in his last moments: he had a conscious satisfaction (no doubt) in acting right, in feeling himself honest, true, and unpretending to more than was his own. So he died as he lived, with that secret, yet sufficient contentment.

'As to any papers left behind him, I dare say they can be but few; for this reason, he never wrote out of vanity, or thought much of the applause of men. I know an instance where he did his utmost to conceal his own merit that way; and if we join to this his natural love of ease, I fancy we must expect little of this sort: at least, I hear of none, except some few further remarks on Waller (which his cautious integrity made him leave an order to be given to Mr. Tonson), and perhaps, though it is many years since I saw it, a translation of the first book of *Oppian*. He had begun a tragedy of *Dion*, but made small progress in it.

company in the world. A little stately, perhaps; a little *apprêté* and conscious that they are speaking

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'As to his other affairs, he died poor but honest, leaving no debts or legacies, except of a few pounds to Mr. Trumbull and my lady, in token of respect, gratefulness, and mutual esteem.

'I shall, with pleasure, take upon me to draw this amiable, quiet, deserving, unpretending, Christian, and philosophical character in his epitaph. There truth may be spoken in a few words; as for flourish, and oratory, and poetry, I leave them to younger and more lively writers, such as love writing for writing sake, and would rather show their own fine parts than report the valuable ones of any other man. So the elegy I renounce.

'I condole with you from my heart on the loss of so worthy a man, and a friend to us both. . . .

'Adieu; let us love his memory, and profit by his example. Am very sincerely, dear sir,

'Your affectionate and real servant.'

TO THE EARL OF BURLINGTON.

'August, 1714.

'My Lord,

'If your mare could speak she would give an account of what extraordinary company she had on the road; which, since she cannot do, I will.

'It was the enterprising Mr. Lintot, the redoubtable rival of Mr. Tonson, who, mounted on a stonehorse, . . . overtook me in Windsor Forest. He said he heard I designed for Oxford, the seat of the Muses, and would, as my bookseller, by all means accompany me thither.

'I asked him where he got his horse? He answered he got it of his publisher; "for that rogue, my printer," said he, "disappointed me. I hoped to put him in good humour by a treat at the tavern of a brown fricassee of rabbits, which cost two shillings, with two quarts of wine, besides my conversation. I thought myself cocksure of his horse, which he readily promised me, but said that Mr. Tonson had just such another design of going to Cambridge, expecting there the copy of a new kind of Horace from Dr. ——; and if Mr. Tonson went, he was pre-engaged to attend him, being to have the printing of the said copy. So, in short, I borrowed this stonehorse of my publisher, which he had of Mr. Oldmixon for a debt; he lent me, too, the pretty boy you see after me: he was a smutty dog yesterday, and cost me near two hours to wash the ink off his face; but the devil is a fair-conditioned devil, and very forward in his catechise: if you have any more bags he shall carry them."

'I thought Mr. Lintot's civility not to be neglected, so gave the boy a small bag containing three shirts and an Elzevir Virgil;

to whole generations who are listening; but in the tone of their voices—pitched, as no doubt they are,

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and mounting in an instant proceeded on the road, with my man before, my courteous stationer beside, and the aforesaid devil behind.

'Mr. Lintot began in this manner: "Now, damn them! what if they should put it into the newspaper how you and I went together to Oxford? What would I care? If I should go down into Sussex they would say I was gone to the Speaker; but what of that? If my son were but big enough to go on with the business, by G—d, I would keep as good company as old Jacob."

'Hereupon, I inquired of his son. "The lad," says he, "has fine parts, but is somewhat sickly, much as you are. I spare for nothing in his education at Westminster. Pray, don't you think Westminster to be the best school in England? Most of the late Ministry came out of it; so did many of this Ministry. I hope the boy will make his fortune."

'"Don't you design to let him pass a year at Oxford?" "To what purpose?" said he. "The Universities do but make pedants, and I intend to breed him a man of business."

'As Mr. Lintot was talking I observed he sat uneasy on his saddle, for which I expressed some solicitude. "Nothing," says he. "I can bear it well enough; but, since we have the day before us, methinks it would be very pleasant for you to rest awhile under the woods." When we were alighted, "See, here, what a mighty pretty Horace I have in my pocket! What, if you amused yourself in turning an ode till we mount again? Lord! if you pleased, what a clever miscellany might you make at leisure hours!" "Perhaps I may," said I, "if we ride on; the motion is an aid to my fancy; a round trot very much awakens my spirits; then jog on apace, and I'll think as hard as I can."

'Silence ensued for a full hour; after which Mr. Lintot lugged the reins, stopped short, and broke out, "Well, sir, how far have you gone?" I answered, seven miles. "Z—ds, sir," said Lintot, "I thought you had done seven stanzas. Oldisworth, in a ramble round Wimbledon Hill, would translate a whole ode in half this time. I'll say that for Oldisworth (though I lost by his Timothy's) he translates an ode of Horace the quickest of any man in England. I remember Dr. King would write verses in a tavern, three hours after he could not speak: and there is Sir Richard, in that rumbling old chariot of his, between Fleet Ditch and St. Giles's pound shall make you half a Job."

'"Pray, Mr. Lintot," said I, "now you talk of translators, what is your method of managing them?" "Sir," replied he, "those are the saddest pack of rogues in the world: in a hungry fit, they'll swear they understand all the languages in the universe.

beyond the mere conversation key—in the expression of their thoughts, their various views and natures,

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I have known one of them take down a Greek book upon my counter, and cry, 'Ah, this is Hebrew, I must read it from the latter end.' By G—d, I can never be sure in these fellows, for I neither understand Greek, Latin, French, nor Italian myself. But this is my way; I agree with them for ten shillings per sheet, with a proviso that I will have their doings corrected by whom I please; so by one or other they are led at last to the true sense of an author; my judgement giving the negative to all my translators." "But how are you secure these correctors may not impose upon you?" "Why, I get any civil gentleman (especially any Scotchman) that comes into my shop, to read the original to me in English; by this I know whether my first translator be deficient, and whether my corrector merits his money or not.

'"I'll tell you what happened to me last month. I bargained with S—— for a new version of *Lucretius*, to publish against Tonson's, agreeing to pay the author so many shillings at his producing so many lines. He made a great progress in a very short time, and I gave it to the corrector to compare with the Latin; but he went directly to Creech's translation, and found it the same, word for word, all but the first page. Now, what d'ye think I did? I arrested the translator for a cheat; nay, and I stopped the corrector's pay, too, upon this proof that he had made use of Creech instead of the original."

'"Pray tell me next how you deal with the critics?" "Sir," said he, "nothing more easy. I can silence the most formidable of them; the rich ones for a sheet a-piece of the blotted manuscript, which cost me nothing; they'll go about with it to their acquaintance, and pretend they had it from the author, who submitted to their correction: this has given some of them such an air, that in time they come to be consulted with and dedicated to as the top critics of the town.—As for the poor critics, I'll give you one instance of my management, by which you may guess the rest: a lean man, that looked like a very good scholar, came to me, t'other day; he turned over your Homer, shook his head, shrugged up his shoulders, and pish'd at every line of it. 'One would wonder,' says he, 'at the strange presumption of some men; Homer is no such easy task that every stripling, every versifier—' He was going on, when my wife called to dinner; 'Sir,' said I, 'will you please to eat a piece of beef with me?' 'Mr. Lintot,' said he, 'I am sorry you should be at the expense of this great book, I am really concerned on your account.' 'Sir, I am much obliged to you: if you can dine upon a piece of beef together with a slice of pudding—?' 'Mr. Lintot, I do not say but Mr. Pope, if he would condescend to advise with men

there is something generous, and cheering, and ennobling. You are in the society of men who have filled the

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of learning—' 'Sir, the pudding is upon the table, if you please to go in.' My critic complies; he comes to a taste of your poetry, and tells me in the same breath, that the book is commendable, and the pudding excellent.

'"Now, sir," continued Mr. Lintot, "in return for the frankness I have shown, pray tell me, is it the opinion of your friends at Court that my Lord Lansdowne will be brought to the bar or not?" I told him I heard he would not, and I hoped it, my lord being one I had particular obligations to.—"That may be," replied Mr. Lintot; "but by G— if he is not, I shall lose the printing of a very good trial."

'These, my lord, are a few traits by which you discern the genius of Mr. Lintot, which I have chosen for the subject of a letter. I dropped him as soon as I got to Oxford, and paid a visit to my Lord Carleton, at Middleton. . . .

'I am,' &c.

DR. SWIFT TO MR. POPE.

'Sept. 29, 1725.

'I am now returning to the noble scene of Dublin—into the *grand monde*—for fear of burying my parts; to signalize myself among curates and vicars, and correct all corruptions crept in relating to the weight of bread-and-butter through those dominions where I govern. I have employed my time (besides ditching) in finishing, correcting, amending, and transcribing my *Travels* [*Gulliver's*], in four parts complete, newly augmented, and intended for the press when the world shall deserve them, or rather, when a printer shall be found brave enough to venture his ears. I like the scheme of our meeting after distresses and dispersions; but the chief end I propose to myself in all my labours is to vex the world rather than divert it; and if I could compass that design without hurting my own person or fortune, I would be the most indefatigable writer you have ever seen, without reading. I am exceedingly pleased that you have done with translations; Lord Treasurer Oxford often lamented that a rascally world should lay you under a necessity of misemploying your genius for so long a time; but since you will now be so much better employed, when you think of the world, give it one lash the more at my request. I have ever hated all nations, professions, and communities; and all my love is towards individuals —for instance, I hate the tribe of lawyers, but I love Counsellor Such-a-one and Judge Such-a-one: it is so with physicians (I will not speak of my own trade), soldiers, English, Scotch, French, and the rest. But principally I hate and detest that animal called man—although I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth.

greatest parts in the world's story—you are with St. John the statesman; Peterborough the conqueror; Swift, the greatest wit of all times; Gay, the kindliest

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'. . . I have got materials towards a treatise proving the falsity of that definition *animal rationale*, and to show it should be only *rationis capax*. . . . The matter is so clear that it will admit of no dispute—nay, I will hold a hundred pounds that you and I agree in the point. . . .

'Mr. Lewis sent me an account of Dr. Arbuthnot's illness, which is a very sensible affliction to me, who, by living so long out of the world, have lost that hardness of heart contracted by years and general conversation. I am daily losing friends, and neither seeking nor getting others. Oh, if the world had but a dozen of Arbuthnots in it, I would burn my *Travels!*'

MR. POPE TO DR. SWIFT.

'October 15, 1725.

'I am wonderfully pleased with the suddenness of your kind answer. It makes me hope you are coming towards us, and that you incline more and more to your old friends. . . . Here is one [Lord Bolingbroke] who was once a powerful planet, but has now (after long experience of all that comes of shining) learned to be content with returning to his first point without the thought or ambition of shining at all. Here is another [Edward, Earl of Oxford], who thinks one of the greatest glories of his father was to have distinguished and loved you, and who loves you hereditarily. Here is Arbuthnot, recovered from the jaws of death, and more pleased with the hope of seeing you again than of reviewing a world, every part of which he has long despised but what is made up of a few men like yourself. . . .

'Our friend Gay is used as the friends of Tories are by Whigs—and generally by Tories too. Because he had humour, he was supposed to have dealt with Dr. Swift; in like manner as when any one had learning formerly, he was thought to have dealt with the devil. . . .

'Lord Bolingbroke had not the least harm by his fall; I wish he had received no more by his other fall. . . . But Lord Bolingbroke is the most improved mind since you saw him, that ever was improved without shifting into a new body, or being; *paullo minus ab angelis*. I have often imagined to myself, that if ever all of us meet again, after so many varieties and changes, after so much of the old world and of the old man in each of us has been altered, that scarce a single thought of the one, any more than a single atom of the other, remains just the same; I have fancied, I say, that we should meet like the righteous in the millennium, quite in peace, divested of all our former passions,

laugher—it is a privilege to sit in that company. Delightful and generous banquet! with a little faith and a little fancy any one of us here may enjoy it, and conjure up those great figures out of the past, and listen to their wit and wisdom. Mind that there is always a certain stamp about great men—they may be as mean on many points as you or I, but they carry their great air—they speak of common life more largely and generously than common men do—they regard the world with a manlier countenance, and see its real features more fairly than the timid shufflers who only dare to look up at life through blinkers, or to have an opinion when there is a crowd to back it. He who reads these noble records of a past age, salutes and reverences the great spirits who adorn it. You may go home now and talk with St. John; you may take a volume from your library and listen to Swift and Pope.

Might I give counsel to any young hearer, I would say to him, Try to frequent the company of your betters. In books and life that is the most wholesome society; learn to admire rightly; the great pleasure of life is that. Note what the great men admired; they admired great things: narrow spirits admire basely, and worship meanly. I know nothing in any story more gallant and cheering, than the love and friendship which this company of famous men bore towards one another. There never has been a society of men more friendly, as there never was one more illustrious. Who dares quarrel with Mr. Pope, great and famous himself, for liking the society of men great and famous? and for liking them for the qualities which made them so? A mere pretty fellow from White's could not have written the *Patriot King*, and would very likely have despised

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smiling at our past follies, and content to enjoy the kingdom of the just in tranquillity.

. . . . . .

'I designed to have left the following page for Dr. Arbuthnot to fill, but he is so touched with the period in yours to me, concerning him, that he intends to answer it by a whole letter.' . . .

little Mr. Pope, the decrepit Papist, whom the great St. John held to be one of the best and greatest of men: a mere nobleman of the Court could no more have won Barcelona, than he could have written Peterborough's letters to Pope,[1] which are as witty as Congreve: a mere Irish Dean could not have written *Gulliver;* and all these men loved Pope, and Pope loved all these men. To name his friends is to name the best men of his time. Addison had a senate; Pope reverenced his equals. He spoke of Swift with respect and admiration always.

[1] Of the Earl of Peterborough, Walpole says:—He was 'one of those men of careless wit, and negligent grace, who scatter a thousand *bon mots* and idle verses, which we painful compilers gather and hoard, till the authors stare to find themselves authors. Such was this lord: of an advantageous figure, and enterprising spirit; as gallant as Amadis and as brave; but a little more expeditious in his journeys; for he is said "to have seen more kings and more postilions than any man in Europe". . . . He was a man, as his poet said, "who would neither live nor die like any other mortal."' [*Royal and Noble Authors*, p. 256.]

FROM THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH TO POPE.

[1731.]

'You must receive my letters with a just impartiality, and give grains of allowance for a gloomy or rainy day; I sink grievously with the weather-glass, and am quite spiritless when oppressed with the thoughts of a birthday or a return.

'Dutiful affection was bringing me to town, but undutiful laziness, and being much out of order keep me in the country: however, if alive, I must make my appearance at the birthday. . . .

'You seem to think it vexatious that I shall allow you but one woman at a time either to praise or love. If I dispute with you upon this point, I doubt, every jury will give a verdict against me. So, sir, with a Mahometan indulgence, I allow you pluralities, the favourite privilege of our Church.

'I find you do not mend upon correction; again I tell you you must not think of women in a reasonable way; you know we always make goddesses of those we adore upon earth; and do not all the good men tell us we must lay aside reason in what relates to the Deity?

'. . . I should have been glad of anything of Swift's. Pray when you write to him next, tell him I expect him with impatience, in a place as odd and as much out of the way as himself.

'Yours.'

Peterborough married Mrs. Anastasia Robinson, the celebrated singer.

His admiration for Bolingbroke was so great, that when some one said of his friend, 'There is something in that great man which looks as if he was placed here by mistake,' 'There is so;' Pope answered, 'and when the comet appeared to us a month or two ago, I had sometimes an imagination that it might possibly be come to our world to carry him home, as a coach comes to one's door for other visitors.' So these great spirits spoke of one another. Show me six of the dullest middle-aged gentlemen that ever dawdled round a club-table, so faithful and so friendly.

We have said before that the chief wits of this time, with the exception of Congreve, were what we should now call men's men. They spent many hours of the four-and-twenty, a fourth part of each day nearly, in clubs and coffee-houses, where they dined, drank, and smoked. Wit and news went by word of mouth; a journal of 1710 contained the very smallest portion of one or the other. The chiefs spoke, the faithful *habitués* sat round; strangers came to wonder and listen. Old Dryden had his head-quarters at Will's, in Russell Street, at the corner of Bow Street, at which place Pope saw him when he was twelve years old. The company used to assemble on the first floor—what was called the dining-room floor in those days—and sat at various tables smoking their pipes. It is recorded that the beaux of the day thought it a great honour to be allowed to take a pinch out of Dryden's snuff-box. When Addison began to reign, he with a certain crafty propriety—or policy let us call it—which belonged to his nature, set up his court, and appointed the officers of his royal house. His palace was Button's, opposite Will's.[1] A quiet opposition, a silent assertion

[1] 'Button had been a servant in the Countess of Warwick's family, who, under the patronage of Addison, kept a coffee-house on the south side of Russell Street, about two doors from Covent Garden. Here it was that the wits of that time used to assemble. It is said, when Addison had suffered any vexation from the Countess, he withdrew the company from Button's house.

'From the coffee-house he went again to a tavern, where he often sat late and drank too much wine.'—Dr. Johnson. [*Life of Addison*, p. 383.]

of empire, distinguished this great man. Addison's ministers were Budgell, Tickell, Philips, Carey; his master of the horse, honest Dick Steele, who was what Duroc was to Napoleon, or Hardy to Nelson; the man who performed his master's bidding, and would have cheerfully died in his quarrel. Addison lived with these people for seven or eight hours every day. The male society passed over their punch-bowls and tobacco-pipes about as much time as ladies of that age spent over Spadille and Manille.

For a brief space, upon coming up to town, Pope formed part of King Joseph's court, and was his rather too eager and obsequious humble servant.[1] Dick Steele, the editor of the *Tatler*, Mr. Addison's man, and his own man too—a person of no little figure in the world of letters, patronized the young poet, and set him a task or two. Young Mr. Pope did the tasks very quickly and smartly (he had been at the feet quite as a boy of Wycherley's [2] decrepit reputation, and propped up for

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Will's coffee-house was on the west side of Bow Street, and 'corner of Russell Street'. See [CUNNINGHAM], *Handbook of London*. [p. 554, 2nd ed.]

[1] 'My acquaintance with Mr. Addison commenced in 1712: I liked him then as well as I liked any man, and was very fond of his conversation. It was very soon after that Mr. Addison advised me "not to be content with the applause of half the nation". He used to talk much and often to me, of moderation in parties: and used to blame his dear friend Steele for being too much of a party man. He encouraged me in my design of translating the *Iliad*, which was begun that year, and finished in 1718.'—POPE (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 195.]

'Addison had Budgell, and I think Philips, in the house with him.—Gay, they would call one of my *élèves*.—They were angry with me for keeping so much with Dr. Swift, and some of the late Ministry.'—POPE (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 145.]

[2] 'TO MR. EDWARD BLOUNT.

'Jan. 21, 1715–16.

'I know of nothing that will be so interesting to you at present as some circumstances of the last act of that eminent comic poet and our friend, Wycherley. He had often told me, as I doubt not he did all his acquaintance, that he would marry as soon as his life was despaired of. Accordingly, a few days before his

a year that doting old wit) : he was anxious to be well with the men of letters, to get a footing and a recognition. He thought it an honour to be admitted into their company ; to have the confidence of Mr. Addison's friend, Captain Steele. His eminent parts obtained for him the honour of heralding Addison's triumph of *Cato* with his admirable prologue, and heading the victorious procession as it were. Not content with this act of homage and admiration, he wanted to distinguish himself by assaulting Addison's enemies, and attacked John

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death, he underwent the ceremony, and joined together those two sacraments which wise men say should be the last we receive ; for, if you observe, matrimony is placed after extreme unction in our Catechism, as a kind of hint of the order of time in which they are to be taken. The old man then lay down, satisfied in the conscience of having, by this one act, paid his just debts, obliged a woman who (he was told) had merit, and shown an heroic resentment of the ill-usage of his next heir. Some hundred pounds which he had with the lady discharged those debts ; a jointure of 400*l.* a year made her a recompense ; and the nephew he left to comfort himself as well as he could with the miserable remains of a mortgaged estate. I saw our friend twice after this was done—less peevish in his sickness than he used to be in his health ; neither much afraid of dying, nor (which in him had been more likely) much ashamed of marrying. The evening before he expired, he called his young wife to the bedside, and earnestly entreated her not to deny him one request—the last he should make. Upon her assurances of consenting to it, he told her : " My dear, it is only this—that you will never marry an old man again." I cannot help remarking that sickness, which often destroys both wit and wisdom, yet seldom has power to remove that talent which we call humour. Mr. Wycherley showed his even in this last compliment ; though I think his request a little hard, for why should he bar her from doubling her jointure on the same easy terms ?

'So trivial as these circumstances are, I should not be displeased myself to know such trifles when they concern or characterize any eminent person. The wisest and wittiest of men are seldom wiser or wittier than others in these sober moments ; at least, our friend ended much in the same character he had lived in ; and Horace's rule for a play may as well be applied to him as a playwright :—

'Servetur ad imum,
Qualis ab incepto processerit et sibi constet.

'I am,' &c.

Dennis with a prose lampoon, which highly offended his lofty patron. Mr. Steele was instructed to write to Mr. Dennis and inform him that Mr. Pope's pamphlet against him was written quite without Mr. Addison's approval.[1] Indeed, *The Narrative of Dr. Robert Norris on the Phrenzy of J. D.* is a vulgar and mean satire, and such a blow as the magnificent Addison could never desire to see any partisan of his strike in any literary quarrel. Pope was closely allied with Swift when he wrote this pamphlet. It is so dirty that it has been printed in Swift's works, too. It bears the foul marks of the master hand. Swift admired and enjoyed with all his heart the prodigious genius of the young Papist lad out of Windsor Forest, who had never seen a university in his life, and came and conquered the Dons and the doctors with his wit. He applauded, and loved him too, and protected him, and taught him mischief. I wish Addison could have loved him better. The best satire that ever has been penned would never have been written then ; and one of the best characters the world ever knew would have been without a flaw. But he who had so few equals could not bear one, and Pope was more than that. When Pope, trying for himself, and soaring on his immortal young wings, found that his, too, was a genius, which no pinion of that age could follow, he rose and left Addison's company, settling on his own eminence, and singing his own song.

It was not possible that Pope should remain a retainer of Mr. Addison ; nor likely that, after escaping from his vassalage and assuming an independent crown, the sovereign whose allegiance he quitted should view him amicably.[2] They did not do wrong to mislike each other.

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[1] 'Addison, who was no stranger to the world, probably saw the selfishness of Pope's friendship ; and, resolving that he should have the consequences of his officiousness to himself, informed Dennis by Steele that he was sorry for the insult.'—Johnson (*Life of Addison*). [p. 357.]

[2] 'While I was heated with what I had heard, I wrote a letter to Mr. Addison, to let him know "that I was not unacquainted with this behaviour of his ; that if I was to speak severely of him

They but followed the impulse of nature, and the consequence of position. When Bernadotte became heir to a throne, the Prince Royal of Sweden was naturally Napoleon's enemy. 'There are many passions and tempers of mankind,' says Mr. Addison in the *Spectator*, speaking a couple of years before the little differences between him and Mr. Pope took place, 'which naturally dispose us to depress and vilify the merit of one rising in the esteem of mankind. All those who made their entrance into the world with the same advantages, and were once looked on as his equals, are apt to think the fame of his merits a reflection on their own indeserts. . . . Those who were once his equals envy and defame him, because they now see him their superior; and those who were once his superiors, because they look upon him as their equal.' Did Mr. Addison, justly perhaps thinking that, as young Mr. Pope had not had the benefit of a university education, he couldn't know Greek, therefore he couldn't translate Homer, encourage his young friend Mr. Tickell, of Queen's, to translate that poet, and aid him with his own known scholarship and skill ?[1] It was natural that Mr. Addison should doubt of the learning of an amateur Grecian, should have a high opinion of Mr. Tickell, of Queen's, and should help that ingenious young man. It was natural, on the other hand, that Mr. Pope and Mr. Pope's friends should believe that this counter-translation, suddenly advertised and so

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in return for it, it should not be in such a dirty way; that I should rather tell him himself fairly of his faults, and allow his good qualities; and that it should be something in the following manner." I then subjoined the first sketch of what has been since called my satire on Addison. He used me very civilly ever after; and never did me any injustice, that I know of, from that time to his death, which was about three years after.'—POPE (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 149.]

[1] 'That Tickell should have been guilty of a villany seems to us highly improbable; that Addison should have been guilty of a villany seems to us highly improbable; but that these two men should have conspired together to commit a villany, seems to us improbable in a tenfold degree.'—MACAULAY [*Essay on Addison.*]

long written, though Tickell's college friends had never heard of it—though, when Pope first wrote to Addison regarding his scheme, Mr. Addison knew nothing of the similar project of Tickell, of Queen's—it was natural that Mr. Pope and his friends, having interests, passions, and prejudices of their own, should believe that Tickell's translation was but an act of opposition against Pope, and that they should call Mr. Tickell's emulation Mr. Addison's envy—if envy it were.

But were there one whose fires
True genius kindles and fair fame inspires;
Blest with each talent and each art to please,
And born to write, converse, and live with ease;
Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,
Bear like the Turk no brother near the throne;
View him with scornful, yet with jealous eyes,
And hate for arts that caused himself to rise;
Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And, without sneering, teach the rest to sneer;
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;
Alike reserved to blame or to commend,
A timorous foe and a suspicious friend;
Dreading e'en fools, by flatterers besieged,
And so obliging that he ne'er obliged;
Like Cato, give his little senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause;
While wits and templars every sentence raise,
And wonder with a foolish face of praise;
Who but must laugh, if such a man there be?
Who would not weep, if Atticus were he?

'I sent the verses to Mr. Addison,' said Pope, 'and he used me very civilly ever after.' No wonder he did. It was shame very likely more than fear that silenced him. Johnson recounts an interview between Pope and Addison after their quarrel, in which Pope was angry, and Addison tried to be contemptuous and calm. Such a weapon as Pope's must have pierced any scorn. It flashes for ever, and quivers in Addison's memory. His

great figure looks out on us from the past—stainless but for that—pale, calm, and beautiful: it bleeds from that black wound. He should be drawn, like St. Sebastian, with that arrow in his side. As he sent to Gay and asked his pardon, as he bade his stepson come and see his death, be sure he had forgiven Pope, when he made ready to show how a Christian could die.

Pope then formed part of the Addisonian court for a short time, and describes himself in his letters as sitting with that coterie until two o'clock in the morning over punch and burgundy amidst the fumes of tobacco. To use an expression of the present day, the 'pace' of those *viveurs* of the former age was awful. Peterborough lived into the very jaws of death; Godolphin laboured all day and gambled at night; Bolingbroke,[1] writing to Swift, from Dawley, in his retirement, dating his letter at six o'clock in the morning, and rising, as he says, refreshed, serene, and calm, calls to mind the time of his London life; when about that hour he used to be going to bed, surfeited with pleasure, and jaded with business; his head often full of schemes, and his heart as often full of anxiety. It was too hard, too coarse a life for the sensitive, sickly Pope. He was the

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[1] LORD BOLINGBROKE TO THE THREE YAHOOS OF TWICKENHAM.

'July 23, 1726.

'JONATHAN, ALEXANDER, JOHN, MOST EXCELLENT TRIUMVIRS OF PARNASSUS,—

'Though you are probably very indifferent where I am, or what I am doing, yet I resolve to believe the contrary. I persuade myself that you have sent at least fifteen times within this fortnight to Dawley farm, and that you are extremely mortified at my long silence. To relieve you, therefore, from this great anxiety of mind, I can do no less than write a few lines to you; and I please myself beforehand with the vast pleasure which this epistle must needs give you. That I may add to this pleasure, and give you further proofs of my beneficent temper, I will likewise inform you, that I shall be in your neighbourhood again, by the end of next week: by which time I hope that Jonathan's imagination of business will be succeeded by some imagination more becoming a professor of that divine science, *la bagatelle*. Adieu, Jonathan, Alexander, John! Mirth be with you!'

only wit of the day, a friend writes to me, who wasn't fat.[1] Swift was fat; Addison was fat; Steele was fat; Gay and Thomson were preposterously fat—all that fuddling and punch-drinking, that club and coffee-house boozing, shortened the lives and enlarged the waistcoats of the men of that age. Pope withdrew in a great measure from this boisterous London company, and being put into an independence by the gallant exertions of Swift[2] and his private friends, and by the enthusiastic national admiration which justly rewarded his great achievement of the *Iliad*, purchased that famous villa of Twickenham which his song and life celebrated; duteously bringing his old parents to live and die there, entertaining his friends there, and making occasional visits to London in his little chariot, in which Atterbury compared him to 'Homer in a nutshell'.

'Mr. Dryden was not a genteel man,' Pope quaintly said to Spence, speaking of the manners and habits of the famous old patriarch of Will's. With regard to Pope's own manners, we have the best contemporary authority that they were singularly refined and polished. With his extraordinary sensibility, with his known tastes, with his delicate frame, with his power and dread of ridicule, Pope could have been no other than what we call a highly-bred person.[3] His closest friends, with the exception of Swift, were among the delights and ornaments of the polished society of their age. Garth,[4]

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[1] Prior must be excepted from this observation. 'He was lank and lean.'

[2] Swift exerted himself very much in promoting the *Iliad* subscription; and also introduced Pope to Harley and Bolingbroke.—Pope realized by the *Iliad* upwards of 5,000*l.*, which he laid out partly in annuities, and partly in the purchase of his famous villa. Johnson remarks that 'it would be hard to find a man so well entitled to notice by his wit, that ever delighted so much in talking of his money'. [*Life of Pope*, p. 149.]

[3] 'His (Pope's) voice in common conversation was so naturally musical, that I remember honest Tom Southerne used always to call him "the little nightingale".'—Orrery. [*Remarks, &c.*, Letter xix.]

[4] Garth, whom Dryden calls 'generous as his Muse', was

the accomplished and benevolent, whom Steele has described so charmingly, of whom Codrington said that his character was 'all beauty', and whom Pope himself called the best of Christians without knowing it; Arbuthnot,[1] one of the wisest, wittiest, most accom-

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a Yorkshireman. He graduated at Cambridge, and was made M.D. in 1691. He soon distinguished himself in his profession, by his poem of *The Dispensary*, and in society, and pronounced Dryden's funeral oration. He was a strict Whig, a notable member of the Kit-Kat and a friendly, convivial, able man. He was knighted by George I, with the Duke of Marlborough's sword. He died in 1719.

[1] Arbuthnot was the son of an episcopal clergyman in Scotland, and belonged to an ancient and distinguished Scotch family. He was educated at Aberdeen; and, coming up to London—according to a Scotch practice often enough alluded to—to make his fortune—first made himself known by "an examination of Dr. Woodward's account of the Deluge". He became physician, successively to Prince George of Denmark and to Queen Anne. He is usually allowed to have been the most learned, as well as one of the most witty and humorous members of the Scriblerus Club. The opinion entertained of him by the humourists of the day is abundantly evidenced in their correspondence. When he found himself in his last illness, he wrote thus, from his retreat at Hampstead, to Swift:

'Hampstead, Oct. 4, 1734.

'My Dear and Worthy Friend,—

'You have no reason to put me among the rest of your forgetful friends, for I wrote two long letters to you, to which I never received one word of answer. The first was about your health; the last I sent a great while ago, by one De la Mar. I can assure you with great truth that none of your friends or acquaintance has a more warm heart toward you than myself. I am going out of this troublesome world, and you, among the rest of my friends, shall have my last prayers and good wishes.

'. . . I came out to this place so reduced by a dropsy and an asthma, that I could neither sleep, breathe, eat, or move. I most earnestly desired and begged of God that he would take me. Contrary to my expectation, upon venturing to ride (which I had forborne for some years . . .), I recovered my strength to a pretty considerable degree, slept, and had my stomach again. . . . What I did, I can assure you was not for life, but ease; for I am at present in the case of a man that was almost in harbour, and then blown back to sea—who has a reasonable hope of going to a good place, and an absolute certainty of leaving a very bad one. Not that I have any particular disgust at the world; for

plished, gentlest of mankind; Bolingbroke, the Alcibiades of his age; the generous Oxford; the magnificent, the witty, the famous, and chivalrous Peterborough: these were the fast and faithful friends of Pope, the most brilliant company of friends, let us repeat, that the world has ever seen. The favourite recreation of

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I have as great comfort in my own family and from the kindness of my friends as any man; but the world, in the main, displeases me, and I have too true a presentiment of calamities that are likely to befall my country. However, if I should have the happiness to see you before I die, you will find that I enjoy the comforts of life with my usual cheerfulness. I cannot imagine why you are frighted from a journey to England: the reasons you assign are not sufficient—the journey I am sure would do you good. In general, I recommend riding, of which I have always had a good opinion, and can now confirm it from my own experience.

'My family give you their love and service. The great loss I sustained in one of them gave me my first shock, and the trouble I have with the rest to bring them to a right temper to bear the loss of a father who loves them, and whom they love, is really a most sensible affliction to me. I am afraid, my dear friend, we shall never see one another more in this world. I shall, to the last moment, preserve my love and esteem for you, being well assured you will never leave the paths of virtue and honour; for all that is in this world is not worth the least deviation from that way. It will be great pleasure to me to hear from you sometimes; for none can be with more sincerity than I am, my dear friend, your most faithful friend and humble servant.'

'Arbuthnot,' Johnson says, 'was a man of great comprehension, skilful in his profession, versed in the sciences, acquainted with ancient literature, and able to animate his mass of knowledge by a bright and active imagination; a scholar with great brilliance of wit; a wit who, in the crowd of life, retained and discovered a noble ardour of religious zeal.' [*Life of Pope*, p. 118.]

Dugald Stewart has testified to Arbuthnot's ability in a department of which he was particularly qualified to judge: 'Let me add, that, in the list of philosophical reformers, the authors of *Martinus Scriblerus* ought not to be overlooked. Their happy ridicule of the scholastic logic and metaphysics is universally known; but few are aware of the acuteness and sagacity displayed in their allusions to some of the most vulnerable passages in Locke's Essay. In this part of the work it is commonly understood that Arbuthnot had the principal share.'—See Preliminary Dissertation to *Encyclopaedia Britannica* [Seventh Edit., 1842], note to p. 242, and also note BBB., p. 285.

his leisure hours was the society of painters, whose art he practised. In his correspondence are letters between him and Jervas, whose pupil he loved to be—Richardson, a celebrated artist of his time, and who painted for him a portrait of his old mother, and for whose picture he asked and thanked Richardson in one of the most delightful letters that ever was penned,[1]—and the wonderful Kneller, who bragged more, spelt worse, and painted better than any artist of his day.[2]

It is affecting to note, through Pope's correspondence, the marked way in which his friends, the greatest, the most famous, and wittiest men of the time—generals and statesmen, philosophers and divines—all have a kind word, and a kind thought for the good simple old mother, whom Pope tended so affectionately. Those men would have scarcely valued her, but that they knew how much he loved her, and that they pleased him by thinking

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[1] TO MR. RICHARDSON.

'Twickenham, June 10, 1733.

'As I know you and I mutually desire to see one another, I hope that this day our wishes would have met, and brought you hither. And this for the very reason, which possibly might hinder your coming, that my poor mother is dead. I thank God, her death was as easy as her life was innocent; and as it cost her not a groan, or even a sigh, there is yet upon her countenance such an expression of tranquillity, nay, almost of pleasure, that it is even amiable to behold it. It would afford the finest image of a saint expired that ever painting drew; and it would be the greatest obligation which even that obliging art could ever bestow on a friend, if you would come and sketch it for me. I am sure, if there be no very prevalent obstacle, you will leave any common business to do this; and I hope to see you this evening as late as you will, or to-morrow morning as early, before this winter flower is faded. I will defer her interment till to-morrow night. I know you love me, or I could not have written this—I could not (at this time) have written at all. Adieu! May you die as happily! 'Your,' &c.

[2] 'Mr. Pope was with Sir Godfrey Kneller one day, when his nephew, a Guinea trader, came in. "Nephew," said Sir Godfrey, "you have the honour of seeing the two greatest men in the world."—"I don't know how great you may be," said the Guinea man, "but I don't like your looks: I have often bought a man, much better than both of you together, all muscles and bones, for ten guineas."'—DR. WARBURTON (*Spence's Anecdotes*). [p. 368].

of her. If his early letters to women are affected and insincere, whenever he speaks about this one, it is with a childish tenderness and an almost sacred simplicity. In 1713, when young Mr. Pope had, by a series of the most astonishing victories and dazzling achievements, seized the crown of poetry; and the town was in an uproar of admiration, or hostility, for the young chief; when Pope was issuing his famous decrees for the translation of the *Iliad;* when Dennis and the lower critics were hooting and assailing him; when Addison and the gentlemen of his court were sneering with sickening hearts at the prodigious triumphs of the young conqueror; when Pope, in a fever of victory, and genius, and hope, and anger, was struggling through the crowd of shouting friends and furious detractors to his temple of Fame, his old mother writes from the country, 'My deare,' says she, 'my deare, there's Mr. Blount, of Mapel Durom, dead the same day that Mr. Inglefield died. Your sister is very well; but your brother is not. My service to Mrs. Blount, and all that ask of me. I hope to hear from you, and that you are well, which is my daily prayer; and this with my blessing.' The triumph marches by, and the car of the young conqueror, the hero of a hundred brilliant victories—the fond mother sits in the quiet cottage at home, and says,' 'I send you my daily prayers, and I bless you, my dear'.

In our estimate of Pope's character, let us always take into account that constant tenderness and fidelity of affection which pervaded and sanctified his life, and never forget that maternal benediction.[1] It accompanied him always: his life seems purified by those artless and

[1] Swift's mention of him as one

—— whose filial piety excels,
Whatever Grecian story tells,
[*Libel on Dr. Delany.*]

is well known. And a sneer of Walpole's may be put to a better use than he ever intended it for, *à propos* of this subject.—He charitably sneers, in one of his letters, at Spence's 'fondling an old mother—in imitation of Pope!' [*Letter* to Horace Mann, Sept. 20, 1750.]

heart-felt prayers. And he seems to have received and deserved the fond attachment of the other members of his family. It is not a little touching to read in Spence of the enthusiastic admiration with which his half-sister regarded him, and the simple anecdotes by which she illustrates her love. 'I think no man was ever so little fond of money,' Mrs. Rackett says about her brother; 'I think my brother when he was young read more books than any man in the world'; and she falls to telling stories of his schooldays, and the manner in which his master at Twyford ill-used him. 'I don't think my brother knew what fear was,' she continues; and the accounts of Pope's friends bear out this character for courage. When he had exasperated the dunces, and threats of violence and personal assault were brought to him, the dauntless little champion never for one instant allowed fear to disturb him, or condescended to take any guard in his daily walks, except occasionally his faithful dog to bear him company. 'I had rather die at once,' said the gallant little cripple, 'than live in fear of those rascals.'

As for his death, it was what the noble Arbuthnot asked and enjoyed for himself—a euthanasia—a beautiful end. A perfect benevolence, affection, serenity, hallowed the departure of that high soul. Even in the very hallucinations of his brain, and weaknesses of his delirium, there was something almost sacred. Spence describes him in his last days, looking up, and with a rapt gaze as if something had suddenly passed before him. 'He said to me, "What's that?" pointing into the air with a very steady regard, and then looked down on me and said, with a smile of great pleasure and with the greatest softness, "'Twas a vision!"' He laughed scarcely ever, but his companions describe his countenance as often illuminated by a peculiar sweet smile.

'When,' said Spence,[1] the kind anecdotist whom

[1] Joseph Spence was the son of a clergyman, near Winchester. He was a short time at Eton, and afterwards became a Fellow

Johnson despised, 'when I was telling Lord Bolingbroke that Mr. Pope, on every catching and recovery of his mind, was always saying something kindly either of his present or his absent friends; and that this was so surprising, that it seemed to me as if his humanity had outlasted his understanding,' Lord Bolingbroke said, "It has so," and then added, "I never in my life knew a man that had so tender a heart for his particular friends, or a more general friendship for mankind. I have known him these thirty years, and value myself more for that man's love than——" Here,' Spence says, 'St. John sunk his head, and lost his voice in tears.' The sob which finishes the epitaph is finer than words. It is the cloak thrown over the father's face in the famous Greek picture, which hides the grief and heightens it.

In Johnson's *Life of Pope*, you will find described with rather a malicious minuteness some of the personal habits and infirmities of the great little Pope. His body was crooked: he was so short that it was necessary to raise his chair in order to place him on a level with other people at table:[1] he was sewed up in a buckram suit every morning and required a nurse like a child. His contemporaries reviled these misfortunes with a strange acrimony, and made his poor deformed person the butt for many a bolt of heavy wit. The facetious Mr. Dennis, in speaking of him, says, 'If you take the

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of New College, Oxford, a clergyman, and professor of poetry. He was a friend of Thomson's, whose reputation he aided. He published an *Essay on the Odyssey* in 1726, which introduced him to Pope. Everybody liked him. His *Anecdotes* were placed, while still in MS., at the service of Johnson and also of Malone. They were published by Mr. Singer in 1820.

[1] He speaks of Arbuthnot's having helped him through 'that long disease, my life'. But not only was he so feeble as is implied in his use of the 'buckram', but 'it now appears', says Mr. Peter Cunningham, 'from his unpublished letters, that, like Lord Hervey, he had recourse to ass's-milk for the preservation of his health.' It is to his lordship's use of that simple beverage that he alludes when he says—

> Let Sporus tremble!—A. What, that thing of silk,
> Sporus, that mere white-curd of ass's-milk?

first letter of Mr. Alexander Pope's Christian name, and the first and last letters of his surname, you have A. P. E.' Pope catalogues, at the end of the *Dunciad*, with a rueful precision, other pretty names, besides Ape, which Dennis called him. That great critic pronounced Mr. Pope was a little ass, a fool, a coward, a Papist, and therefore a hater of Scripture, and so forth. It must be remembered that the pillory was a flourishing and popular institution in those days. Authors stood in it in the body sometimes: and dragged their enemies thither morally, hooted them with foul abuse, and assailed them with garbage from the gutter. Poor Pope's figure was an easy one for those clumsy caricaturists to draw. Any stupid hand could draw a hunchback, and write Pope underneath. They did. A libel was published against Pope, with such a frontispiece. This kind of rude jesting was an evidence not only of an ill nature, but a dull one. When a child makes a pun, or a lout breaks out into a laugh, it is some very obvious combination of words, or discrepancy of objects, which provokes the infantine satirist, or tickles the boorish wag; and many of Pope's revilers laughed, not so much because they were wicked, as because they knew no better.

Without the utmost sensibility, Pope could not have been the poet he was; and through his life, however much he protested that he disregarded their abuse, the coarse ridicule of his opponents stung and tore him. One of Cibber's pamphlets coming into Pope's hands, whilst Richardson the painter was with him, Pope turned round and said, 'These things are my diversions:' and Richardson, sitting by whilst Pope perused the libel, said he saw his features 'writhing with anguish'. How little human nature changes! Can't one see that little figure? Can't one fancy one is reading Horace? Can't one fancy one is speaking of to-day?

The tastes and sensibilities of Pope, which led him to cultivate the society of persons of fine manners, or wit, or taste, or beauty, caused him to shrink equally from that shabby and boisterous crew which formed the rank and file of literature in his time: and he was as unjust

to these men as they to him. The delicate little creature sickened at habits and company which were quite tolerable to robuster men: and in the famous feud between Pope and the Dunces, and without attributing any peculiar wrong to either, one can quite understand how the two parties should so hate each other. As I fancy, it was a sort of necessity that, when Pope's triumph passed, Mr. Addison and his men should look rather contemptuously down on it from their balcony; so it was natural for Dennis and Tibbald, and Welsted and Cibber, and the worn and hungry pressmen in the crowd below, to howl at him and assail him. And Pope was more savage to Grub Street than Grub Street was to Pope. The thong with which he lashed them was dreadful; he fired upon that howling crew such shafts of flame and poison, he slew and wounded so fiercely, that in reading the *Dunciad* and the prose lampoons of Pope, one feels disposed to side against the ruthless little tyrant, at least to pity those wretched folks upon whom he was so unmerciful. It was Pope, and Swift to aid him, who established among us the Grub Street tradition. He revels in base descriptions of poor men's want; he gloats over poor Dennis's garret, and flannel night-cap, and red stockings; he gives instructions how to find Curll's authors, the historian at the tallow-chandler's under the blind arch in Petty France, the two translators in bed together, the poet in the cock-loft in Budge Row, whose landlady keeps the ladder. It was Pope, I fear, who contributed, more than any man who ever lived, to depreciate the literary calling. It was not an unprosperous one before that time, as we have seen; at least there were great prizes in the profession which had made Addison a minister, and Prior an ambassador, and Steele a commissioner, and Swift all but a bishop. The profession of letters was ruined by that libel of the *Dunciad*. If authors were wretched and poor before, if some of them lived in haylofts, of which their landladies kept the ladders, at least nobody came to disturb them in their straw; if three of them had but one coat between them, and two remained invisible in the garret,

the third, at any rate, appeared decently at the coffee-house, and paid his twopence like a gentleman. It was Pope that dragged into light all this poverty and meanness, and held up those wretched shifts and rags to public ridicule. It was Pope that has made generations of the reading world (delighted with the mischief, as who would not be that reads it ?) believe that author and wretch, author and rags, author and dirt, author and drink, gin, cow-heel, tripe, poverty, duns, bailiffs, squalling children and clamorous landladies, were always associated together. The condition of authorship began to fall from the days of the *Dunciad:* and I believe in my heart that much of that obloquy which has since pursued our calling was occasioned by Pope's libels and wicked wit. Everybody read those. Everybody was familiarized with the idea of the poor-devil author. The manner is so captivating that young authors practise it, and begin their career with satire. It is so easy to write, and so pleasant to read ! to fire a shot that makes a giant wince, perhaps ; and fancy one's self his conqueror. It is easy to shoot—but not as Pope did—the shafts of his satire rise sublimely ; no poet's verse ever mounted higher than that wonderful flight with which the *Dunciad* concludes [1] :—

She comes, she comes ! the sable throne behold !
Of Night primaeval and of Chaos old ;
Before her, Fancy's gilded clouds decay,
And all its varying rainbows die away ;
Wit shoots in vain its momentary fires,
The meteor drops, and in a flash expires.
As, one by one, at dread Medea's strain
The sick'ning stars fade off the ethereal plain ;
As Argus' eyes, by Hermes' wand oppress'd,
Closed one by one to everlasting rest ;—
Thus, at her felt approach and secret might,
Art after Art goes out, and all is night.

[1] 'He (Johnson) repeated to us, in his forcible melodious manner, the concluding lines of the *Dunciad*.'—Boswell. [*Life of Johnson*, anno 1769.]

See skulking Truth to her old cavern fled,
Mountains of casuistry heaped o'er her head;
Philosophy, that leaned on Heaven before,
Shrinks to her second cause and is no more.

. . . . . .

Religion, blushing, veils her sacred fires,
And unawares Morality expires.
Nor public flame, nor private, dares to shine,
Nor human spark is left, nor glimpse divine.
Lo! thy dread empire, Chaos, is restored,
Light dies before thy uncreating word;
Thy hand, great Anarch, lets the curtain fall,
And universal darkness buries all.[1]

In these astonishing lines Pope reaches, I think, to the very greatest height which his sublime art has attained, and shows himself the equal of all poets of all times. It is the brightest ardour, the loftiest assertion of truth, the most generous wisdom, illustrated by the noblest poetic figure, and spoken in words the aptest, grandest, and most harmonious. It is heroic courage speaking: a splendid declaration of righteous wrath and war. It is the gage flung down, and the silver trumpet ringing defiance to falsehood and tyranny, deceit, dullness, superstition. It is Truth, the champion, shining and intrepid, and fronting the great world-tyrant with armies of slaves at his back. It is a wonderful and victorious single combat, in that great battle, which has always been waging since society began.

In speaking of a work of consummate art one does not try to show what it is, for that were vain; but what it is like, and what are the sensations produced in the mind of him who views it. And in considering Pope's admirable career, I am forced into similitudes drawn from other courage and greatness, and into comparing

[1] 'Mr. Langton informed me that he once related to Johnson (on the authority of Spence), that Pope himself admired these lines so much that when he repeated them his voice faltered. "And well it might, sir," said Johnson, "for they are noble lines."' J. Boswell, junior. [In a note to the last extract.]

him with those who achieved triumphs in actual war. I think of the works of young Pope as I do of the actions of young Bonaparte or young Nelson. In their common life you will find frailties and meannesses, as great as the vices and follies of the meanest men. But in the presence of the great occasion, the great soul flashes out, and conquers transcendent. In thinking of the splendour of Pope's young victories, of his merit, unequalled as his renown, I hail and salute the achieving genius, and do homage to the pen of a Hero.

LECTURE THE FIFTH

HOGARTH, SMOLLETT, AND FIELDING

I SUPPOSE as long as novels last and authors aim at interesting their public, there must always be in the story a virtuous and gallant hero, a wicked monster his opposite, and a pretty girl who finds a champion. Bravery and virtue conquer beauty: and vice, after seeming to triumph through a certain number of pages, is sure to be discomfited in the last volume, when justice overtakes him and honest folks come by their own. There never was perhaps a greatly popular story but this simple plot was carried through it: mere satiric wit is addressed to a class of readers and thinkers quite different to those simple souls who laugh and weep over the novel. I fancy very few ladies indeed, for instance, could be brought to like *Gulliver* heartily, and (putting the coarseness and difference of manners out of the question) to relish the wonderful satire of *Jonathan Wild*. In that strange apologue, the author takes for a hero the greatest rascal, coward, traitor, tyrant, hypocrite, that his wit and experience, both large in this matter, could enable him to devise or depict; he accompanies this villain through all the actions of his life, with a grinning deference and a wonderful mock respect: and doesn't leave him, till he is dangling at the gallows, when the satirist makes him a low bow and wishes the scoundrel good day.

It was not by satire of this sort, or by scorn and contempt, that Hogarth achieved his vast popularity and acquired his reputation.[1] His art is quite

[1] Coleridge speaks of the 'beautiful female faces' in Hogarth's pictures, 'in whom,' he says, 'the satirist never extinguished that love of beauty which belonged to him as a poet.'—*The Friend*. [No. 16, Dec. 7, 1809.]

simple,[1] he speaks popular parables to interest simple hearts and to inspire them with pleasure or pity or

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[1] 'I was pleased with the reply of a gentleman, who, being asked which book he esteemed most in his library, answered, "Shakespeare": being asked which he esteemed next best, replied, "Hogarth". His graphic representations are indeed books: they have the teeming, fruitful, suggestive meaning of *words*. Other pictures we look at—his prints we read. . . .

'The quantity of thought which Hogarth crowds into every picture would alone *unvulgarize* every subject which he might choose. . . .

'I say not that all the ridiculous subjects of Hogarth have necessarily something in them to make us like them; some are indifferent to us, some in their natures repulsive, and only made interesting by the wonderful skill and truth to nature in the painter; but I contend that there is in most of them that sprinkling of the better nature, which, like holy water, chases away and disperses the contagion of the bad. They have this in them besides, that they bring us acquainted with the every-day human face,—they give us skill to detect those gradations of sense and virtue (which escape the careless or fastidious observer) in the countenances of the world about us; and prevent that disgust at common life, that *taedium quotidianarum formarum*, which an unrestricted passion for ideal forms and beauties is in danger of producing. In this, as in many other things, they are analogous to the best novels of Smollett or Fielding.'—CHARLES LAMB. [*On the Genius and Character of Hogarth.*]

'It has been observed that Hogarth's pictures are exceedingly unlike any other representations of the same kind of subjects—that they form a class, and have a character, peculiar to themselves. It may be worth while to consider in what this general distinction consists.

'In the first place, they are, in the strictest sense, *historical* pictures; and if what Fielding says be true, that his novel of *Tom Jones* ought to be regarded as an epic prose-poem, because it contained a regular development of fable, manners, character, and passion, the compositions of Hogarth, will, in like manner, be found to have a higher claim to the title of epic pictures than many which have of late arrogated that denomination to themselves. When we say that Hogarth treated his subjects historically, we mean that his works represent the manners and humours of mankind in action, and their characters by varied expression. Everything in his pictures has life and motion in it. Not only does the business of the scene never stand still, but every feature and muscle is put into full play; the exact feeling of the moment is brought out, and carried to its utmost height, and then instantly seized and stamped on the canvas for ever.

warning and terror. Not one of his tales but is as easy as *Goody Two Shoes;* it is the moral of Tommy was a naughty boy and the master flogged him, and Jacky was a good boy and had plum-cake, which pervades the whole works of the homely and famous English moralist. And if the moral is written in rather too large letters after the fable, we must remember how simple the scholars and schoolmaster both were, and like neither the less because they are so artless and honest. 'It was a maxim of Dr. Harrison's,' Fielding says in *Amelia,* speaking of the benevolent divine and philosopher who represents the good principle in that novel—'that no man can descend below himself, in doing any act which may contribute to protect an innocent person, *or to bring a rogue to the gallows.*' The moralists of that age had no compunction you see; they had not begun to be sceptical about the theory of punishment, and thought that the hanging of a thief was a spectacle for edification. Masters sent their apprentices, fathers took their children, to see Jack Sheppard or Jonathan Wild hanged, and it was as undoubting subscribers to this moral law, that Fielding wrote and Hogarth painted. Except in one instance, where in the mad-house scene in the *Rake's Progress,* the girl whom he has ruined is represented as still tending and weeping over him in his insanity, a glimpse of pity for his rogues never seems to enter honest Hogarth's mind. There's not the slightest doubt in the breast of the jolly Draco.

The expression is always taken *en passant,* in a state of progress or change, and, as it were, at the salient point. . . . His figures are not like the background on which they are painted: even the pictures on the wall have a peculiar look of their own. Again, with the rapidity, variety, and scope of history, Hogarth's heads have all the reality and correctness of portraits. He gives the extremes of character and expression, but he gives them with perfect truth and accuracy. This is, in fact, what distinguishes his compositions from all others of the same kind, that they are equally remote from caricature, and from mere still life. . . . His faces go to the very verge of caricature, and yet never (we believe in any single instance) go beyond it.'—HAZLITT. [*The Round Table,* No. 9, *On Hogarth's Marriage à la Mode.*]

The famous set of pictures called *Marriage à la Mode*, and which are exhibited at Marlborough House [1853], in London, contains the most important and highly wrought of the Hogarth comedies. The care and method with which the moral grounds of these pictures are laid is as remarkable as the wit and skill of the observing and dexterous artist. He has to describe the negotiations for a marriage pending between the daughter of a rich citizen Alderman and young Lord Viscount Squanderfield, the dissipated son of a gouty old Earl. Pride and pomposity appear in every accessory surrounding the Earl. He sits in gold lace and velvet—as how should such an Earl wear anything but velvet and gold lace? His coronet is everywhere: on his footstool, on which reposes one gouty toe turned out; on the sconces and looking-glasses; on the dogs; on his lordship's very crutches; on his great chair of state and the great baldaquin behind him; under which he sits pointing majestically to his pedigree, which shows that his race is sprung from the loins of William the Conqueror, and confronting the old Alderman from the City, who has mounted his sword for the occasion, and wears his Alderman's chain, and has brought a bag full of money, mortgage deeds, and thousand-pound notes, for the arrangement of the transaction pending between them. Whilst the steward (a Methodist, therefore a hypocrite and cheat, for Hogarth scorned a Papist and a Dissenter) is negotiating between the old couple, their children sit together, united but apart. My lord is admiring himself in the glass, while his bride is twiddling her marriage ring on her pocket-handkerchief; and listening with rueful countenance to Counsellor Silvertongue, who has been drawing the settlements. The girl is pretty, but the painter, with a curious watchfulness, has taken care to give her a likeness to her father, as in the young Viscount's face you see a resemblance to the Earl, his noble sire. The sense of the coronet pervades the picture, as it is supposed to do the mind of its wearer. The pictures round the room are sly hints indicating the situation of the parties about to marry. A martyr is led

to the fire; Andromeda is offered to sacrifice; Judith is going to slay Holofernes. There is the ancestor of the house (in the picture it is the Earl himself as a young man), with a comet over his head, indicating that the career of the family is to be brilliant and brief. In the second picture, the old lord must be dead, for Madam has now the Countess's coronet over her bed and toilet-glass, and sits listening to that dangerous Counsellor Silvertongue, whose portrait now actually hangs up in her room, whilst the counsellor takes his ease on the sofa by her side, evidently the familiar of the house, and the confidant of the mistress. My lord takes his pleasure elsewhere than at home, whither he returns jaded and tipsy from the 'Rose', to find his wife yawning in her drawing-room, her whist-party over, and the daylight streaming in; or he amuses himself with the very worst company abroad, whilst his wife sits at home listening to foreign singers, or wastes her money at auctions, or, worse still, seeks amusement at masquerades. The dismal end is known. My lord draws upon the counsellor, who kills him, and is apprehended whilst endeavouring to escape. My lady goes back perforce to the Alderman in the City, and faints upon reading Counsellor Silvertongue's dying speech at Tyburn, where the counsellor has been executed for sending his lordship out of the world. Moral:—Don't listen to evil silver-tongued counsellors: don't marry a man for his rank, or a woman for her money: don't frequent foolish auctions and masquerade balls unknown to your husband: don't have wicked companions abroad and neglect your wife, otherwise you will be run through the body, and ruin will ensue, and disgrace, and Tyburn. The people are all naughty, and Bogey carries them all off.

In the *Rake's Progress*, a loose life is ended by a similar sad catastrophe. It is the spendthrift coming into possession of the wealth of the paternal miser; the prodigal surrounded by flatterers, and wasting his substance on the very worst company; the bailiffs, the gambling-house, and Bedlam for an end. In the famous story of *Industry and Idleness*, the moral is pointed in a manner

similarly clear. Fair-haired Frank Goodchild smiles at his work, whilst naughty Tom Idle snores over his loom. Frank reads the edifying ballads of Whittington and the London 'Prentice; whilst that reprobate Tom Idle prefers Moll Flanders, and drinks hugely of beer. Frank goes to church of a Sunday, and warbles hymns from the gallery; while Tom lies on a tombstone outside playing at halfpenny-under-the-hat, with street blackguards, and is deservedly caned by the beadle; Frank is made overseer of the business, whilst Tom is sent to sea. Frank is taken into partnership and marries his master's daughter, sends out broken victuals to the poor, and listens in his night-cap and gown with the lovely Mrs. Goodchild by his side, to the nuptial music of the City bands and the marrow-bones and cleavers; whilst idle Tom, returned from sea, shudders in a garret lest the officers are coming to take him for picking pockets. The Worshipful Francis Goodchild, Esq., becomes Sheriff of London, and partakes of the most splendid dinners which money can purchase or Alderman devour; whilst poor Tom is taken up in a night-cellar, with that one-eyed and disreputable accomplice who first taught him to play chuck-farthing on a Sunday. What happens next? Tom is brought up before the justice of his country, in the person of Mr. Alderman Goodchild, who weeps as he recognizes his old brother 'prentice, as Tom's one-eyed friend peaches on him, and the clerk makes out the poor rogue's ticket for Newgate. Then the end comes. Tom goes to Tyburn in a cart with a coffin in it; whilst the Right Honourable Francis Goodchild, Lord Mayor of London, proceeds to his Mansion House, in his gilt coach with four footmen and a sword-bearer; whilst the Companies of London march in the august procession; whilst the trainbands of the City fire their pieces and get drunk in his honour; and, oh crowning delight and glory of all! whilst his Majesty the King looks out from his royal balcony, with his ribbon on his breast, and his Queen and his star by his side, at the corner house of St. Paul's Churchyard, where the toy-shop is now.

How the times have changed! The new Post Office now not disadvantageously occupies that spot where the scaffolding is in the picture, where the tipsy trainband-man is lurching against the post, with his wig over one eye, and the 'prentice-boy is trying to kiss the pretty girl in the gallery. Passed away 'prentice boy and pretty girl! Passed away tipsy trainband-man with wig and bandolier! On the spot where Tom Idle (for whom I have an unaffected pity) made his exit from this wicked world, and where you see the hangman smoking his pipe as he reclines on the gibbet and views the hills of Harrow or Hampstead beyond—a splendid marble arch, a vast and modern city—clean, airy, painted drab, populous with nursery-maids and children, the abode of wealth and comfort—the elegant, the prosperous, the polite Tyburnia rises, the most respectable district in the habitable globe!

In that last plate of the London Apprentices, in which the apotheosis of the Right Honourable Francis Goodchild is drawn, a ragged fellow is represented in the corner of the simple kindly piece, offering for sale a broadside, purporting to contain an account of the appearance of the ghost of Tom Idle, executed at Tyburn. Could Tom's ghost have made its appearance in 1847, and not in 1747, what changes would have been remarked by that astonished escaped criminal! Over that road which the hangman used to travel constantly, and the Oxford stage twice a week, go ten thousand carriages every day: over yonder road, by which Dick Turpin fled to Windsor, and Squire Western journeyed into town, when he came to take up his quarters at the 'Hercules Pillars' on the outskirts of London, what a rush of civilization and order flows now! What armies of gentlemen with umbrellas march to banks, and chambers, and counting-houses! What regiments of nursery-maids and pretty infantry; what peaceful processions of policemen, what light broughams and what gay carriages, what swarms of busy apprentices and artificers, riding on omnibus-roofs, pass daily and hourly! Tom Idle's times are quite changed: many of the institutions gone into disuse which were admired in his day. There's more pity and

kindness and a better chance for poor Tom's successors now than at that simpler period when Fielding hanged him and Hogarth drew him.

To the student of history, these admirable works must be invaluable, as they give us the most complete and truthful picture of the manners, and even the thoughts, of the past century. We look, and see pass before us the England of a hundred years ago—the peer in his drawing-room, the lady of fashion in her apartment, foreign singers surrounding her, and the chamber filled with gewgaws in the mode of that day; the church, with its quaint florid architecture and singing congregation; the parson with his great wig, and the beadle with his cane: all these are represented before us, and we are sure of the truth of the portrait. We see how the Lord Mayor dines in state; how the prodigal drinks and sports at the bagnio; how the poor girl beats hemp in Bridewell; how the thief divides his booty and drinks his punch at the night-cellar, and how he finishes his career at the gibbet. We may depend upon the perfect accuracy of these strange and varied portraits of the bygone generation: we see one of Walpole's Members of Parliament chaired after his election, and the lieges celebrating the event, and drinking confusion to the Pretender: we see the grenadiers and trainbands of the City marching out to meet the enemy; and have before us, with sword and firelock, and white Hanoverian horse embroidered on the cap, the very figures of the men who ran away with Johnny Cope, and who conquered at Culloden. The Yorkshire wagon rolls into the inn-yard; the country parson, in his jack-boots, and his bands and short cassock, comes trotting into town, and we fancy it is Parson Adams, with his sermons in his pocket. The Salisbury Fly sets forth from the old 'Angel'—you see the passengers entering the great heavy vehicle, up the wooden steps, their hats tied down with handkerchiefs over their faces, and under their arms, sword, hanger, and case-bottle; the landlady—apoplectic with the liquors in her own bar—is tugging at the bell; the hunchbacked postilion—he may have

ridden the leaders to Humphry Clinker—is begging a gratuity; the miser is grumbling at the bill; Jack of the *Centurion* lies on the top of the clumsy vehicle, with a soldier by his side—it may be Smollett's Jack Hatchway—it has a likeness to Lismahago. You see the suburban fair and the strolling company of actors; the pretty milkmaid singing under the windows of the enraged French musician—it is such a girl as Steele charmingly described in the *Guardian*, a few years before this date, singing under Mr. Ironside's window in Shire Lane, her pleasant carol of a May morning. You see noblemen and blacklegs bawling and betting in the Cockpit; you see Garrick as he was arrayed in *King Richard;* Macheath and Polly in the dresses which they wore when they charmed our ancestors, and when noblemen in blue ribbons sat on the stage and listened to their delightful music. You see the ragged French soldiery, in their white coats and cockades, at Calais Gate—they are of the regiment, very likely, which friend Roderick Random joined before he was rescued by his preserver Monsieur de Strap, and with whom he fought on the famous day of Dettingen. You see the judges on the bench; the audience laughing in the pit; the student in the Oxford theatre; the citizen on his country walk; you see Broughton the boxer, Sarah Malcolm the murderess, Simon Lovat the traitor, John Wilkes the demagogue, leering at you with that squint which has become historical, and that face which, ugly as it was, he said he could make as captivating to woman as the countenance of the handsomest beau in town. All these sights and people are with you. After looking in the *Rake's Progress* at Hogarth's picture of St. James's Palace-gate, you may people the street, but little altered within these hundred years, with the gilded carriages and thronging chairmen that bore the courtiers your ancestors to Queen Caroline's Drawing-room more than a hundred years ago.

What manner of man[1] was he who executed these

[1] Hogarth (whose family name was Hogart) was the grandson

portraits—so various, so faithful, and so admirable? In the London National Gallery most of us have seen the

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of a Westmoreland yeoman. His father came to London, and was an author and schoolmaster. William was born in 1697 (according to the most probable conjecture) in the parish of St. Martin, Ludgate. He was early apprenticed to an engraver of arms on plate. The following touches are from his *Anecdotes* of himself (edition of 1833).

'As I had naturally a good eye, and a fondness for drawing, shows of all sorts gave me uncommon pleasure when an infant; and mimicry, common to all children, was remarkable in me. An early access to a neighbouring painter drew my attention from play; and I was, at every possible opportunity, employed in making drawings. I picked up an acquaintance of the same turn, and soon learnt to draw the alphabet with great correctness. My exercises, when at school, were more remarkable for the ornaments which adorned them, than for the exercise itself. In the former, I soon found that blockheads with better memories could much surpass me; but for the latter I was particularly distinguished. . . .

'I thought it still more unlikely that by pursuing the common method, and copying *old* drawings, I could ever attain the power of making *new* designs, which was my first and greatest ambition. I therefore endeavoured to habituate myself to the exercise of a sort of technical memory; and by repeating in my own mind the parts of which objects were composed, I could by degrees combine and put them down with my pencil. Thus, with all the drawbacks which resulted from the circumstances I have mentioned, I had one material advantage over my competitors, viz. the early habit I thus acquired of retaining in my mind's eye, without coldly copying it on the spot, whatever I intended to imitate. . . .

'The instant I became master of my own time, I determined to qualify myself for engraving on copper. In this I readily got employment; and frontispieces to books, such as prints to *Hudibras*, in twelves, &c., soon brought me into the way. But the tribe of booksellers remained as my father had left them . . . which put me upon publishing on my own account. But here again I had to encounter a monopoly of printsellers, equally mean and destructive to the ingenious; for the first plate I published, called "The Taste of the Town", in which the reigning follies were lashed, had no sooner begun to take a run, than I found copies of it in the print-shops, vending at half-price, while the original prints were returned to me again; and I was thus obliged to sell the plate for whatever these pirates pleased to give me, as there was no place of sale but at their shops. Owing to this, and other circumstances, by engraving, until

best and most carefully finished series of his comic paintings, and the portrait of his own honest face, of

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I was near thirty, I could do little more than maintain myself; but even then, I was a punctual paymaster.' [Chap. I.]

'I then married, and——

[But William is going too fast here. He made 'a stolen union' on March 23, 1729, with Jane, daughter of Sir James Thornhill, serjeant-painter. For some time Sir James kept his heart and his purse-strings close, but 'soon after became both reconciled and generous to the young couple'.—*Hogarth's Works,* by Nichols and Steevens, vol. i, p. 44.]

'—commenced painter of small Conversation Pieces, from twelve to fifteen inches high. This, having novelty, succeeded for a few years.' . . .

[About this time Hogarth had summer lodgings at South Lambeth, and did all kinds of work, 'embellishing' the 'Spring Gardens' at 'Vauxhall' and the like. In 1731, he published a satirical plate against Pope, founded on the well-known imputation against him of his having satirized the Duke of Chandos under the name of Timon, in his poem on *Taste.* The plate represented a view of Burlington House, with Pope whitewashing it, and bespattering the Duke of Chandos's coach. Pope made no retort, and has never mentioned Hogarth.]

'Before I had done anything of much consequence in this walk, I entertained some hopes of succeeding in what the puffers in books call *The Great Style of History Painting;* so that without having had a stroke of this *grand* business before, I quitted small portraits and familiar conversations, and with a smile at my own temerity, commenced history-painter, and on a great staircase at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, painted two Scripture stories, the "Pool of Bethesda" and the "Good Samaritan", with figures seven feet high. . . . But as religion, the great promoter of this style in other countries, rejected it in England, I was unwilling to sink into a *portrait manufacturer;* and still ambitious of being singular, dropped all expectations of advantage from that source, and returned to the pursuit of my former dealings with the public at large. . . .

'As to portrait-painting, the chief branch of the art by which a painter can procure himself a tolerable livelihood, and the only one by which a lover of money can get a fortune, a man of very moderate talents may have great success in it, as the artifice and address of a mercer is infinitely more useful than the abilities of a painter. By the manner in which the present race of professors in England conduct it, that also becomes still life.'

. . . . . .

'By this inundation of folly and fuss' (*he has been speaking of the success of Vanloo, who came over here in* 1737), 'I must confess

which the bright blue eyes shine out from the canvas and give you an idea of that keen and brave look with

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I was much disgusted, and determined to try if by any means I could stem the torrent, and, *by opposing, end it.* I laughed at the pretensions of these quacks in colouring, ridiculed their productions as feeble and contemptible, and asserted that it required neither taste nor talents to excel their most popular performances. This interference excited much enmity, because, as my opponents told me, my studies were in another way. You talk, added they, with ineffable contempt of portrait-painting; if it is so easy a task, why do not you convince the world, by painting a portrait yourself? Provoked at this language, I, one day at the Academy in St. Martin's Lane, put the following question: Supposing any man, at this time, were to paint a portrait as well as Vandyke, would it be seen or acknowledged, and could the artist enjoy the benefit or acquire the reputation due to his performance?

'They asked me in reply, If I could paint one as well? and I frankly answered, I believed I could. . . .

'Of the mighty talents said to be requisite for portrait-painting I had not the most exalted opinion.' [Chap. II.]

Let us now hear him on the question of the Academy:—

'To pester the three great estates of the empire, about twenty or thirty students drawing after a man or a horse, appears, as it must be acknowledged, foolish enough: but the real motive is, that a few bustling characters, who have access to people of rank, think they can thus get a superiority over their brethren, be appointed to places, and have salaries, as in France, for telling a lad when an arm or a leg is too long or too short. . . .

'France, ever aping the magnificence of other nations, has in its turn assumed a foppish kind of splendour sufficient to dazzle the eyes of the neighbouring states, and draw vast sums of money from this country. . . .

'To return to our Royal Academy: I am told that one of their leading objects will be, sending young men abroad to study the antique statues, &c. Such kind of studies may sometimes improve an exalted genius, but they will not create it; and whatever has been the cause, this same travelling to Italy has, in several instances that I have seen, seduced the student from nature, and led him to paint marble figures, in which he has availed himself of the great works of antiquity, as a coward does when he puts on the armour of an Alexander; for, with similar pretensions and similar vanity, the painter supposes he shall be adored as a second Raphael Urbino.' [Chap. III.]

We must now hear him on his 'Sigismunda':—

'As the most violent and virulent abuse thrown on "Sigismunda" was from a set of miscreants, with whom I am proud of having been ever at war, I mean the expounders of the mysteries

which William Hogarth regarded the world. No man was ever less of a hero ; you see him before you, and can fancy what he was—a jovial, honest, London citizen, stout and sturdy ; a hearty, plain-spoken man,[1] loving

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of old pictures, I have been sometimes told they were beneath my notice. This is true of them individually, but as they have access to people of rank, who seem as happy in being cheated as these *merchants* are in cheating them, they have a power of doing much mischief to a modern artist. However mean the vendor of poisons, the mineral is destructive :—to me its operation was troublesome enough. Ill nature spread so fast, that now was the time for every little dog in the profession to bark ! ' [Chap. V.]

Next comes a characteristic account of his controversy with Wilkes and Churchill.

' The stagnation rendered it necessary that I should do some *timed thing,* to recover my lost time, and stop a gap in my income. This drew forth my print of " The Times," a subject which tended to the restoration of peace and unanimity, and put the opposers of these humane objects in a light which gave great offence to those who were trying to foment disaffection in the minds of the populace. One of the most notorious among them, till now rather my friend and flatterer, attacked me in a *North Briton* in so infamous and malign a style, that he himself, when pushed even by his best friends, was driven to so poor an excuse as to say he was drunk when he wrote it. . . .

' This renowned patriot's portrait, drawn like as I could as to features, and marked with some indications of his mind, fully answered my purpose. The ridiculous was apparent to every eye. A Brutus ! A saviour of his country with such an aspect—was so arrant a farce, that though it gave rise to much laughter in the lookers-on, galled both him and his adherents to the bone. . . .

' Churchill, Wilkes's toad eater, put the *North Briton* into verse, in an *Epistle to Hogarth ;* but as the abuse was precisely the same, except a little poetical heightening, which goes for nothing, it made no impression. . . . However, having an old plate by me, with some parts ready, such as the background and a dog, I began to consider how I could turn so much work laid aside to some account, so patched up a print of Master Churchill in the character of a Bear. The pleasure and pecuniary advantage which I derived from these two engravings, together with occasionally riding on horseback, restored me to as much health as can be expected at my time of life.' [Chap. V.]

[1] ' It happened in the early part of Hogarth's life, that a nobleman who was uncommonly ugly and deformed came to sit to him for his picture. It was executed with a skill that did honour to the artist's abilities ; but the likeness was rigidly observed, with-

his laugh, his friend, his glass, his roast-beef of Old England, and having a proper *bourgeois* scorn for French frogs, for mounseers, and wooden shoes in general, for foreign fiddlers, foreign singers, and, above all, for foreign painters, whom he held in the most amusing contempt. It must have been great fun to hear him rage against Correggio and the Caracci; to watch him thump the table and snap his fingers, and say, 'Historical painters be hanged; here's the man that will paint against any of them for a hundred pounds. Correggio's "Sigismunda"! Look at Bill Hogarth's "Sigismunda"; look at my altar-piece at St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol; look at my "Paul before Felix", and see whether I'm not as good as the best of them.'[1]

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out even the necessary attention to compliment or flattery. The peer, disgusted at this counterpart of his dear self, never once thought of paying for a reflector that would only insult him with his deformities. Some time was suffered to elapse before the artist applied for his money; but afterwards many applications were made by him (who had then no need of a banker) for payment, without success. The painter, however, at last hit upon an expedient. . . . It was couched in the following card:—

'"Mr. Hogarth's dutiful respects to Lord ——. Finding that he does not mean to have the picture which was drawn for him, is informed again of Mr. Hogarth's necessity for the money. If, therefore, his lordship does not send for it in three days, it will be disposed of, with the addition of a tail, and some other little appendages, to Mr. Hare, the famous wild-beast man: Mr. Hogarth having given that gentleman a conditional promise of it for an exhibition-picture, on his lordship's refusal."

'This intimation had the desired effect.'—*Works*, by Nichols and Steevens, vol. i, p. 24.

[1] 'Garrick himself, however, was not more ductile to flattery. A word in favour of "Sigismunda" might have commanded a proof-print or forced an original sketch out of our artist's hands.' . . .

'The following authenticated story of our artist (furnished by the late Mr. Belchier, F.R.S., a surgeon of eminence) will also serve to show how much more easy it is to detect ill-placed or hyperbolical adulation respecting others, than when applied to ourselves. Hogarth, being at dinner with the great Cheselden and some other company, was told that Mr. John Freke, surgeon of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, a few evenings before at Dick's Coffee-house, had asserted that Greene was as eminent in compo-

Posterity has not quite confirmed honest Hogarth's opinion about his talents for the sublime. Although Swift could not see the difference between tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum, posterity has not shared the Dean's contempt for Handel; the world has discovered a difference between tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum, and given a hearty applause and admiration to Hogarth, too, but not exactly as a painter of scriptural subjects, or as a rival of Correggio. It does not take away from one's liking for the man, or from the moral of his story, or the humour of it—from one's admiration for the prodigious merit of his performances, to remember that he persisted to the last in believing that the world was in a conspiracy against him with respect to his talents as an historical painter, and that a set of miscreants, as he called them, were employed to run his genius down. They say it was Liston's firm belief, that he was a great and neglected tragic actor; they say that every one of us believes in his heart, or would like to have others believe, that he is something which he is not. One of the most notorious of the 'miscreants', Hogarth says, was Wilkes, who assailed him in the *North Briton;* the other was Churchill, who put the *North Briton* attack into heroic verse, and published his *Epistle to Hogarth.* Hogarth replied by that caricature of Wilkes, in which the patriot still figures before us, with his Satanic grin and squint, and by a caricature of Churchill, in which he is represented as a bear with a staff, on which, 'Lie the first', 'Lie the second', 'Lie the tenth', are engraved in unmistakable letters. There is very little mistake about honest Hogarth's satire: if he has to paint a man with his throat cut, he draws him with his head almost

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sition as Handel. "That fellow Freke," replied Hogarth, "is always shooting his bolt absurdly, one way or another. Handel is a giant in music; Greene only a light Florimel kind of a composer." "Aye," says our artist's informant, "but at the same time Mr. Freke declared you were as good a portrait-painter as Vandyck." "*There* he was in the right," adds Hogarth, "and so, by G—, I am, give me my time and let me choose my subject."'—*Works*, by Nichols and Steevens, vol. i, pp. 236, 237.

off; and he tried to do the same for his enemies in this little controversy. 'Having an old plate by me,' says he, 'with some parts ready, such as the background, and a dog, I began to consider how I could turn so much work laid aside to some account, so patched up a print of Master Churchill, in the character of a bear; the pleasure and pecuniary advantage which I derived from these two engravings, together with occasionally riding on horseback, restored me to as much health as can be expected at my time of life.'

And so he concludes his queer little book of *Anecdotes*: 'I have gone through the principal circumstances of a life which till lately passed pretty much to my own satisfaction, and I hope in no respect injurious to any other man. This I can safely assert, I have invariably endeavoured to make those about me tolerably happy, and my greatest enemy cannot say I ever did an intentional injury. . . . What may follow, God knows.'

A queer account still exists of a holiday jaunt taken by Hogarth and four friends of his, who set out, like the redoubted Mr. Pickwick and his companions, but just a hundred years before those heroes; and made an excursion to Gravesend, Rochester, Sheerness, and adjacent places.[1] One of the gentlemen noted down the proceedings of the journey, for which Hogarth and a brother artist made drawings. The book is chiefly curious at this moment from showing the citizen life of those days, and the rough, jolly style of merriment, not of the five companions merely, but of thousands of jolly fellows of their time. Hogarth and his friends, quitting the 'Bedford Arms', Covent Garden, with a song, took water to Billingsgate, exchanging compliments with the bargemen as they went down the river. At Billingsgate, Hogarth made a 'caracatura' of a facetious porter, called the Duke of Puddledock, who agreeably entertained the party with the humours of

[1] He made this excursion in 1732, his companions being John Thornhill (son of Sir James), Scott the landscape-painter, Tothall, and Forrest.

the place. Hence they took a Gravesend boat for themselves; had straw to lie upon, and a tilt over their heads, they say, and went down the river at night, sleeping, and singing jolly choruses.

They arrived at Gravesend at six, when they washed their faces and hands, and had their wigs powdered. Then they sallied forth for Rochester on foot, and drank by the way three pots of ale. At one o'clock they went to dinner with excellent port, and a quantity more beer, and afterwards Hogarth and Scott played at hopscotch in the town hall. It would appear that they slept most of them in one room, and the chronicler of the party describes them all as waking at seven o'clock, and telling each other their dreams. You have rough sketches by Hogarth of the incidents of this holiday excursion. The sturdy little painter is seen sprawling over a plank to a boat at Gravesend; the whole company are represented in one design, in a fisherman's room, where they had all passed the night. One gentleman in a nightcap is shaving himself; another is being shaved by the fisherman; a third, with a handkerchief over his bald pate, is taking his breakfast; and Hogarth is sketching the whole scene. They describe at night how they returned to their quarters, drank to their friends, as usual, emptied several cans of good flip, all singing merrily. It is a jolly party of tradesmen engaged at high-jinks. These were the manners and pleasures of Hogarth, of his time very likely, of men not very refined, but honest and merry. It is a brave London citizen, with John Bull habits, prejudices, and pleasures.[1]

[1] 'Dr. Johnson made four lines once, on the death of poor Hogarth, which were equally true and pleasing: I know not why Garrick's were preferred to them:—

> The hand of him here torpid lies,
> That drew th' essential form of grace;
> Here, closed in death, th' attentive eyes,
> That saw the manners in the face.

'Mr. Hogarth, among the variety of kindnesses shown to me when I was too young to have a proper sense of them, was used to be very earnest that I should obtain the acquaintance, and if

Of SMOLLETT'S associates and manner of life the author of the admirable *Humphry Clinker* has given us an interesting account, in that most amusing of novels.[1]

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possible the friendship, of Dr. Johnson; whose conversation was, to the talk of other men, like Titian's painting compared to Hudson's, he said: "but don't you tell people now that I say so" (continued he) "for the connoisseurs and I are at war, you know; and because I hate *them*, they think I hate *Titian*—and let them!" . . . Of Dr. Johnson, when my father and he were talking together about him one day, "That man" (says Hogarth) "is not contented with believing the Bible; but he fairly resolves, I think, to believe nothing *but* the Bible. Johnson" (added he), "though so wise a fellow, is more like King David than King Solomon, for he says in his haste, that All men are liars."'—MRS. PIOZZI. [*Anecdotes*, p. 135 (1786).]

Hogarth died on the 26th of October, 1764. The day before his death, he was removed from his villa at Chiswick to Leicester Fields, 'in a very weak condition, yet remarkably cheerful.' He had just received an agreeable letter from Franklin. He lies buried at Chiswick.

[1] TO SIR WATKIN PHILLIPS, BART., OF JESUS COLLEGE, OXON.

'DEAR PHILLIPS,—In my last, I mentioned my having spent an evening with a society of authors, who seemed to be jealous and afraid of one another. My uncle was not at all surprised to hear me say I was disappointed in their conversation. "A man may be very entertaining and instructive upon paper," said he, "and exceedingly dull in common discourse. I have observed, that those who shine most in private company are but secondary stars in the constellation of genius. A small stock of ideas is more easily managed, and sooner displayed, than a great quantity crowded together. There is very seldom anything extraordinary in the appearance and address of a good writer; whereas a dull author generally distinguishes himself by some oddity or extravagance. For this reason I fancy that an assembly of grubs must be very diverting."

'My curiosity being excited by this hint, I consulted my friend Dick Ivy, who undertook to gratify it the very next day, which was Sunday last. He carried me to dine with S——, whom you and I have long known by his writings. He lives in the skirts of the town; and every Sunday his house is open to all unfortunate brothers of the quill, whom he treats with beef, pudding, and potatoes, port, punch, and Calvert's entire butt beer. He has fixed upon the first day of the week for the exercise of his hospitality, because some of his guests could not enjoy it on any other, for reasons that I need not explain. I was civilly received

I have no doubt that the above * picture is as faithful a one as any from the pencil of his kindred humourist, Hogarth.

* [It appears that Thackeray read to his audience the letter given in the note on p. 187.—Ed.]

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in a plain, yet decent habitation, which opened backwards into a very pleasant garden, kept in excellent order; and, indeed, I saw none of the outward signs of authorship either in the house or the landlord, who is one of those few writers of the age that stand upon their own foundation, without patronage, and above dependence. If there was nothing characteristic in the entertainer, the company made ample amends for his want of singularity.

'At two in the afternoon, I found myself one of ten messmates seated at table; and I question if the whole kingdom could produce such another assemblage of originals. Among their peculiarities, I do not mention those of dress, which may be purely accidental. What struck me were oddities originally produced by affectation, and afterwards confirmed by habit. One of them wore spectacles at dinner, and another his hat flapped; though (as Ivy told me) the first was noted for having a seaman's eye, when a bailiff was in the wind; and the other was never known to labour under any weakness or defect of vision, except about five years ago, when he was complimented with a couple of black eyes by a player, with whom he had quarrelled in his drink. A third wore a laced stocking, and made use of crutches, because, once in his life, he had been laid up with a broken leg, though no man could leap over a stick with more agility. A fourth had contracted such an antipathy to the country, that he insisted upon sitting with his back towards the window that looked into the garden; and when a dish of cauliflower was set upon the table, he snuffed up volatile salts to keep him from fainting; yet this delicate person was the son of a cottager, born under a hedge, and had many years run wild among asses on a common. A fifth affected distraction: when spoke to, he always answered from the purpose. Sometimes he suddenly started up, and rapped out a dreadful oath; sometimes he burst out a-laughing; then he folded his arms, and sighed; and then he hissed like fifty serpents.

'At first, I really thought he was mad; and, as he sat near me, began to be under some apprehensions for my own safety; when our landlord, perceiving me alarmed, assured me aloud that I had nothing to fear. "The gentleman," said he, "is trying to act a part for which he is by no means qualified: if he had all the inclination in the world, it is not in his power to be mad; his spirits are too flat to be kindled into phrenzy." "'Tis no bad

We have before us, and painted by his own hand, Tobias Smollett, the manly, kindly, honest, and irascible ; worn

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p-p-puff, how-owever," observed a person in a tarnished laced coat: " aff-ffected m-madness w-will p-pass for w-wit w-with nine-nineteen out of t-twenty." " And affected stuttering for humour," replied our landlord ; " though, God knows ! there is no affinity betwixt them." It seems this wag, after having made some abortive attempts in plain speaking, had recourse to this defect, by means of which he frequently extorted the laugh of the company, without the least expense of genius ; and that imperfection, which he had at first counterfeited, was now become so habitual, that he could not lay it aside.

' A certain winking genius, who wore yellow gloves at dinner, had, on his first introduction, taken such offence at S——, because he looked and talked, and ate and drank, like any other man, that he spoke contemptuously of his understanding ever after, and never would repeat his visit, until he had exhibited the following proof of his caprice. Wat Wyvil, the poet, having made some unsuccessful advances towards an intimacy with S——, at last gave him to understand, by a third person, that he had written a poem in his praise, and a satire against his person : that if he would admit him to his house, the first should be immediately sent to the press ; but that if he persisted in declining his friendship, he would publish the satire without delay. S—— replied, that he looked upon Wyvil's panegyric as, in effect, a species of infamy, and would resent it accordingly with a good cudgel ; but if he published the satire, he might deserve his compassion, and had nothing to fear from his revenge. Wyvil having considered the alternative, resolved to mortify S—— by printing the panegyric, for which he received a sound drubbing. Then he swore the peace against the aggressor, who, in order to avoid a prosecution at law, admitted him to his good graces. It was the singularity in S——'s conduct on this occasion, that reconciled him to the yellow-gloved philosopher, who owned he had some genius ; and from that period cultivated his acquaintance.

' Curious to know upon what subjects the several talents of my fellow guests were employed, I applied to my communicative friend Dick Ivy, who gave me to understand that most of them were, or had been, understrappers, or journeymen, to more creditable authors, for whom they translated, collated, and compiled, in the business of bookmaking ; and that all of them had, at different times, laboured in the service of our landlord, though they had now set up for themselves in various departments of literature. Not only their talents, but also their nations and dialects, were so various, that our conversation resembled the confusion of tongues at Babel. We had the Irish brogue, the

and battered, but still brave and full of heart, after a long struggle against a hard fortune. His brain had

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Scotch accent, and foreign idiom, twanged off by the most discordant vociferation; for as they all spoke together, no man had any chance to be heard, unless he could bawl louder than his fellows. It must be owned, however, there was nothing pedantic in their discourse; they carefully avoided all learned disquisitions, and endeavoured to be facetious: nor did their endeavours always miscarry; some droll repartee passed, and much laughter was excited; and if any individual lost his temper so far as to transgress the bounds of decorum, he was effectually checked by the master of the feast, who exerted a sort of paternal authority over this irritable tribe.

'The most learned philosopher of the whole collection, who had been expelled the university for atheism, has made great progress in a refutation of Lord Bolingbroke's metaphysical works, which is said to be equally ingenious and orthodox: but in the meantime, he has been presented to the grand jury as a public nuisance for having blasphemed in an alehouse on the Lord's Day. The Scotchman gives lectures on the pronunciation of the English language, which he is now publishing by subscription.

'The Irishman is a political writer, and goes by the name of My Lord Potatoe. He wrote a pamphlet in vindication of a minister, hoping his zeal would be rewarded with some place or pension; but finding himself neglected in that quarter, he whispered about that the pamphlet was written by the minister himself, and he published an answer to his own production. In this he addressed the author under the title of "your lordship", with such solemnity, that the public swallowed the deceit, and bought up the whole impression. The wise politicians of the metropolis declared they were both masterly performances, and chuckled over the flimsy reveries of an ignorant garreteer, as the profound speculations of a veteran statesman, acquainted with all the secrets of the cabinet. The imposture was detected in the sequel, and our Hibernian pamphleteer retains no part of his assumed importance but the bare title of "my lord", and the upper part of the table at the potatoe-ordinary in Shoe Lane.

'Opposite to me sat a Piedmontese, who had obliged the public with a humorous satire, entitled *The Balance of the English Poets;* a performance which evinced the great modesty and taste of the author, and, in particular, his intimacy with the elegances of the English language. The sage, who laboured under the ἀγροφοβία, or "horror of green fields", had just finished a treatise on practical agriculture, though, in fact, he had never seen corn growing in his life, and was so ignorant of grain, that our entertainer, in the face of the whole company, made him own

been busied with a hundred different schemes; he had been reviewer and historian, critic, medical writer, poet, pamphleteer. He had fought endless literary battles; and braved and wielded for years the cudgels of controversy. It was a hard and savage fight in those days, and a niggard pay. He was oppressed by illness,

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that a plate of hominy was the best rice-pudding he had ever eat.

'The stutterer had almost finished his travels through Europe and part of Asia, without ever budging beyond the liberties of the King's Bench, except in term-time, with a tipstaff for his companion: and as for little Tim Cropdale, the most facetious member of the whole society, he had happily wound up the catastrophe of a virgin tragedy, from the exhibition of which he promised himself a large fund of profit and reputation. Tim had made shift to live many years by writing novels, at the rate of five pounds a volume; but that branch of business is now engrossed by female authors, who publish merely for the propagation of virtue, with so much ease, and spirit, and delicacy, and knowledge of the human heart, and all in the serene tranquillity of high life, that the reader is not only enchanted by their genius, but reformed by their morality.

'After dinner, we adjourned into the garden, where I observed Mr. S—— give a short separate audience to every individual in a small remote filbert-walk, from whence most of them dropped off one after another, without further ceremony.' [Melford's first letter of June 10th.]

Smollett's house was in Lawrence Street, Chelsea, and is now destroyed. See [Cunningham] *Handbook of London*, p. 115. [Second ed.]

'The person of Smollett was eminently handsome, his features prepossessing, and, by the joint testimony of all his surviving friends, his conversation in the highest degree instructive and amusing. Of his disposition, those who have read his works (and who has not done so?) may form a very accurate estimate; for in each of them he has presented, and sometimes under various points of view, the leading features of his own character without disguising the most unfavourable of them. . . . When unseduced by his satirical propensities, he was kind, generous, and humane to others; bold, upright, and independent in his own character; stooped to no patron, sued for no favour, but honestly and honourably maintained himself on his literary labours. . . . He was a doating father, and an affectionate husband; and the warm zeal with which his memory was cherished by his surviving friends showed clearly the reliance which they placed upon his regard.'—Sir Walter Scott. [*Life of Smollett*, p. 188 (1827).]

age, narrow fortune; but his spirit was still resolute, and his courage steady; the battle over, he could do justice to the enemy with whom he had been so fiercely engaged, and give a not unfriendly grasp to the hand that had mauled him. He is like one of those Scotch cadets, of whom history gives us so many examples, and whom, with a national fidelity, the great Scotch novelist has painted so charmingly; of gentle birth[1]

[1] Smollett of Bonhill, in Dumbartonshire. *Arms*, az. 'a bend, or, between a lion rampant, ppr., holding in his paw a banner, arg. and a bugle-horn, also ppr. *Crest*, an oak-tree ppr. *Motto*, *Viresco*.'

Smollett's father, Archibald, was the fourth son of Sir James Smollett of Bonhill, a Scotch judge and Member of Parliament, and one of the commissioners for framing the Union with England. Archibald married, without the old gentleman's consent, and died early, leaving his children dependent on their grandfather. Tobias, the second son, was born in 1721, in the old house of Dalquhurn in the valley of Leven; and all his life loved and admired that valley and Loch Lomond beyond all the valleys and lakes in Europe. He learned the 'rudiments' at Dumbarton Grammar-school, and studied at Glasgow.

But when he was only eighteen, his grandfather died, and left him without provision (figuring as the old judge in *Roderick Random* in consequence, according to Sir Walter). Tobias, armed with *The Regicide*, a tragedy—a provision precisely similar to that with which Dr. Johnson had started, just before—came up to London. The *Regicide* came to no good, though at first patronized by Lord Lyttelton ('one of those little fellows who are sometimes called great men,' Smollett says); and Smollett embarked as 'surgeon's mate' on board a line-of-battle ship, and served in the Carthagena expedition, in 1741. He left the service in the West Indies, and, after residing some time in Jamaica, returned to England in 1744.

He was now unsuccessful as a physician, to begin with; published the satires, *Advice* and *Reproof*—without any luck; and (1747) married the 'beautiful and accomplished Miss Lascelles'.

In 1748 he brought out his *Roderick Random*, which at once made a 'hit'. The subsequent events of his life may be presented, chronologically, in a bird's-eye view:—

1750. Made a tour to Paris, where he chiefly wrote *Peregrine Pickle*.

1751. Published *Peregrine Pickle*.

1753. Published *Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*.

1755. Published version of *Don Quixote*.

1756. Began *The Critical Review*.

and narrow means, going out from his northern home to win his fortune in the world, and to fight his way, armed with courage, hunger, and keen wits. His crest is a shattered oak-tree, with green leaves yet springing from it. On his ancient coat-of-arms there is a lion and a horn; this shield of his was battered and dinted in a hundred fights and brawls,[1] through which

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1757. Published his *History of England.*

1763–1766. Travelling in France and Italy; published his *Travels.*

1769. Published *Adventures of an Atom.*

1770. Set out for Italy; died at Leghorn 17th of Sept., 1771, in the fifty-first year of his age.

[1] A good specimen of the old 'slashing' style of writing is presented by the paragraph on Admiral Knowles, which subjected Smollett to prosecution and imprisonment. The admiral's defence on the occasion of the failure of the Rochfort expedition came to be examined before the tribunal of the *Critical Review.*

'He is,' said our author, 'an admiral without conduct, an engineer without knowledge, an officer without resolution, and a man without veracity!'

Three months' imprisonment in the King's Bench avenged this stinging paragraph. [SCOTT'S *Life*, p. 163.]

But the *Critical* was to Smollett a perpetual fountain of 'hot water'. Among less important controversies may be mentioned that with Grainger, the translator of Tibullus. Grainger replied in a pamphlet; and in the next number of the *Review* we find him threatened with 'castigation', as an 'owl that has broken from his mew'!

In Dr. Moore's biography of him is a pleasant anecdote. After publishing the *Don Quixote*, he returned to Scotland to pay a visit to his mother:—

'On Smollett's arrival, he was introduced to his mother with the connivance of Mrs. Telfer [her daughter], as a gentleman from the West Indies, who was intimately acquainted with her son. The better to support his assumed character, he endeavoured to preserve a serious countenance, approaching to a frown; but while his mother's eyes were riveted on his countenance, he could not refrain from smiling: she immediately sprung from her chair, and throwing her arms around his neck, exclaimed, "Ah, my son! my son! I have found you at last!"

'She afterwards told him, that if he had kept his austere look and continued to *gloom*, he might have escaped detection some time longer, but "your old roguish smile", added she, "betrayed you at once."' [SCOTT'S *Life*, p. 161.]

'Shortly after the publication of *The Adventures of an Atom,*

the stout Scotchman bore it courageously. You see somehow that he is a gentleman, through all his battling and struggling, his poverty, his hard-fought successes, and his defeats. His novels are recollections of his own adventures; his characters drawn, as I should think, from personages with whom be became acquainted in his own career of life. Strange companions he must have had; queer acquaintances he made in the Glasgow College—in the country apothecary's shop; in the gun-room of the man-of-war where he served as surgeon, and in the hard life on shore, where the sturdy adventurer struggled for fortune. He did not invent much, as I fancy, but had the keenest perceptive faculty, and described what he saw with wonderful relish and delightful broad humour. I think Uncle Bowling, in *Roderick Random*, is as good a character as Squire Western himself; and Mr. Morgan, the Welsh apothecary, is as pleasant as Dr. Caius. What man who has made his inestimable acquaintance—what novel-reader who loves Don Quixote and Major Dalgetty—will refuse his most cordial acknowledgements to the admirable Lieutenant Lismahago? The novel of *Humphry Clinker* is, I do think, the most laughable story that has ever been written since the goodly art of novel-writing began. Winifred Jenkins and Tabitha Bramble must keep Englishmen on the grin for ages yet to come; and in their letters and the story of their loves there is a

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disease again assailed Smollett with redoubled violence. Attempts being vainly made to obtain for him the office of Consul in some port of the Mediterranean, he was compelled to seek a warmer climate, without better means of provision than his own precarious finances could afford. The kindness of his distinguished friend and countryman, Dr. Armstrong (then abroad), procured for Dr. and Mrs. Smollett a house at Monte Nero, a village situated on the side of a mountain overlooking the sea, in the neighbourhood of Leghorn, a romantic and salutary abode, where he prepared for the press, the last, and like music "sweetest in the close", the most pleasing of his compositions, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*. This delightful work was published in 1771.'—Sir Walter Scott. [*Life of Smollett*, p. 180.]

perpetual fount of sparkling laughter, as inexhaustible as Bladud's well.

Fielding, too, has described, though with a greater hand, the characters and scenes which he knew and saw. He had more than ordinary opportunities for becoming acquainted with life. His family and education first—his fortunes and misfortunes afterwards, brought him into the society of every rank and condition of man. He is himself the hero of his books: he is wild Tom Jones, he is wild Captain Booth, less wild, I am glad to think, than his predecessor, at least heartily conscious of demerit, and anxious to amend.

When Fielding first came upon the town in 1727, the recollection of the great wits was still fresh in the coffee-houses and assemblies, and the judges there declared that young Harry Fielding had more spirits and wit than Congreve or any of his brilliant successors. His figure was tall and stalwart; his face handsome, manly, and noble-looking; to the very last days of his life he retained a grandeur of air, and, although worn down by disease, his aspect and presence imposed respect upon the people round about him. A dispute took place between Mr. Fielding and the captain[1] of the ship in which he was making his last voyage, and Fielding relates how the man finally went down on his knees and begged his passenger's pardon. He was living up to the last days of his life, and his spirit never gave in. His vital power must have been immensely strong. Lady

[1] The dispute with the captain arose from the wish of that functionary to intrude on his right to his cabin, for which he had paid thirty pounds. After recounting the circumstances of the apology, he characteristically adds:—

'And here, that I may not be thought the sly trumpeter of my own praises, I do utterly disclaim all praise on the occasion. Neither did the greatness of my mind dictate, nor the force of my Christianity exact this forgiveness. To speak truth, I forgave him from a motive which would make men much more forgiving, if they were much wiser than they are; because it was convenient for me so to do.' [*Voyage to Lisbon.* Vol. viii, p. 472 (1771).]

Mary Wortley Montagu [1] prettily characterizes Fielding and this capacity for happiness which he possessed, in a little notice of his death, when she compares him to Steele, who was as improvident and as happy as he was, and says that both should have gone on living for ever. One can fancy the eagerness and gusto with which a man of Fielding's frame, with his vast health and robust appetite, his ardent spirits, his joyful humour, and his keen and hearty relish for life, must have seized and drunk that cup of pleasure which the town offered to him. Can any of my hearers remember the youthful feats of a college breakfast—the meats devoured and the cups quaffed in that Homeric feast? I can call to mind some of the heroes of those youthful banquets, and fancy young Fielding from Leyden rushing upon the feast, with his great laugh and immense healthy young appetite, eager and vigorous to enjoy. The young man's wit and manners made him friends everywhere: he lived with the grand Man's society of those days;

[1] Lady Mary was his second cousin—their respective grandfathers being sons of George Feilding, Earl of Desmond, son of William, Earl of Denbigh.

In a letter dated just a week before his death, she says:—

'H. Fielding has given a true picture of himself and his first wife in the characters of Mr. and Mrs. Booth, some compliments to his own figure excepted; and I am persuaded, several of the incidents he mentions are real matters of fact. I wonder he does not perceive Tom Jones and Mr. Booth are sorry scoundrels. . . . Fielding has really a fund of true humour, and was to be pitied at his first entrance into the world, having no choice, as he said himself, but to be a hackney writer or a hackney coachman. His genius deserved a better fate; but I cannot help blaming that continued indiscretion, to give it the softest name, that has run through his life, and I am afraid still remains. . . . Since I was born no original has appeared excepting Congreve and Fielding, who would, I believe, have approached nearer to his excellences, if not forced by necessity to publish without correction, and throw many productions into the world he would have thrown into the fire, if meat could have been got without money, or money without scribbling. . . . I am sorry not to see any more of Peregrine Pickle's performances; I wish you would tell me his name.'—*Letters and Works* (Lord Wharncliffe's ed.), vol. iii, pp. 92 sqq. [June 23, 1754.]

he was courted by peers and men of wealth and fashion. As he had a paternal allowance from his father, General Fielding, which, to use Henry's own phrase, any man might pay who would; as he liked good wine, good clothes, and good company, which are all expensive articles to purchase, Harry Fielding began to run into debt, and borrow money in that easy manner in which Captain Booth borrows money in the novel: was in nowise particular in accepting a few pieces from the purses of his rich friends, and bore down upon more than one of them, as Walpole tells us only too truly, for a dinner or a guinea. To supply himself with the latter, he began to write theatrical pieces, having already, no doubt, a considerable acquaintance amongst the Oldfields and Bracegirdles behind the scenes. He laughed at these pieces and scorned them. When the audience upon one occasion began to hiss a scene which he was too lazy to correct, and regarding which, when Garrick remonstrated with him, he said that the public was too stupid to find out the badness of his work;—when the audience began to hiss, Fielding said, with characteristic coolness—'They *have* found it out, have they?' He did not prepare his novels in this way, and with a very different care and interest laid the foundations and built up the edifices of his future fame. Time and shower have very little damaged those. The fashion and ornaments are, perhaps, of the architecture of that age; but the buildings remain strong and lofty, and of admirable proportions—masterpieces of genius and monuments of workmanlike skill.

I cannot offer or hope to make a hero of Harry Fielding. Why hide his faults? Why conceal his weaknesses in a cloud of periphrasis? Why not show him, like him as he is, not robed in a marble toga, and draped and polished in a heroic attitude, but with inked ruffles, and claret stains on his tarnished laced coat, and on his manly face the marks of good fellowship, of illness, of kindness, of care, and wine. Stained as you see him, and worn by care and dissipation, that man retains some of the most precious and splendid human qualities

and endowments. He has an admirable natural love of truth, the keenest instinctive antipathy to hypocrisy, the happiest satirical gift of laughing it to scorn. His wit is wonderfully wise and detective; it flashes upon a rogue and lightens up a rascal like a policeman's lantern. He is one of the manliest and kindliest of human beings: in the midst of all his imperfections, he respects female innocence and infantine tenderness, as you would suppose such a great-hearted, courageous soul would respect and care for them. He could not be so brave, generous, truth-telling as he is, were he not infinitely merciful, pitiful and tender. He will give any man his purse—he can't help kindness and profusion. He may have low tastes, but not a mean mind: he admires with all his heart good and virtuous men, stoops to no flattery, bears no rancour, disdains all disloyal arts, does his public duty uprightly, is fondly loved by his family, and dies at his work.[1]

If that theory be—and I have no doubt it is—the right and safe one, that human nature is always pleased with the spectacle of innocence rescued by fidelity, purity, and courage; I suppose that of the heroes of Fielding's three novels, we should like honest Joseph Andrews the best, and Captain Booth the second, and Tom Jones the third.[2]

Joseph Andrews, though he wears Lady Booby's cast-off livery, is, I think, to the full as polite as Tom Jones in his fustian suit, or Captain Booth in regimentals. He has, like those heroes, large calves, broad shoulders, a high courage, and a handsome face. The accounts

[1] He sailed for Lisbon, from Gravesend, on Sunday morning, June 30th, 1754; and began the *Journal of a Voyage* during the passage. He died at Lisbon, in the beginning of October of the same year. He lies buried there, in the English Protestant churchyard, near the Estrella Church, with this inscription over him:—

'HENRICUS FIELDING,
LUGET BRITANNIA GREMIO NON DATUM
FOVERE NATUM.'

[2] Fielding himself is said by Dr. Warton to have preferred *Joseph Andrews* to his other writings.

of Joseph's bravery and good qualities; his voice, too musical to halloo to the dogs; his bravery in riding races for the gentlemen of the county, and his constancy in refusing bribes and temptation, have something affecting in their *naïveté* and freshness, and prepossess one in favour of that handsome young hero. The rustic bloom of Fanny, and the delightful simplicity of Parson Adams, are described with a friendliness which wins the reader of their story: we part with them with more regret than from Booth and Jones.

Fielding, no doubt, began to write this novel in ridicule of *Pamela*, for which work one can understand the hearty contempt and antipathy which such an athletic and boisterous genius as Fielding's must have entertained. He couldn't do otherwise than laugh at the puny Cockney bookseller, pouring out endless volumes of sentimental twaddle, and hold him up to scorn as a molly-coddle and a milksop. His genius had been nursed on sack-posset, and not on dishes of tea. His muse had sung the loudest in tavern choruses, had seen the daylight streaming in over thousands of emptied bowls, and reeled home to chambers on the shoulders of the watchman. Richardson's goddess was attended by old maids and dowagers, and fed on muffins and bohea. 'Milksop!' roars Harry Fielding, clattering at the timid shop-shutters. 'Wretch! Monster! Mohock!' shrieks the sentimental author of *Pamela;*[1] and all the ladies of his court cackle out an affrighted chorus. Fielding proposes to write a book in ridicule of the author, whom he disliked and utterly scorned and laughed at;

[1] 'Richardson,' says worthy Mrs. Barbauld, in her Memoir of him, prefixed to his Correspondence, 'was exceedingly hurt at this (*Joseph Andrews*), the more so as they had been upon good terms, and he was very intimate with Fielding's two sisters. He never appears cordially to have forgiven it (perhaps it was not in human nature that he should), and he always speaks in his letters with a great deal of asperity of *Tom Jones*, more indeed than was quite graceful in a rival author. No doubt he himself thought his indignation was solely excited by the loose morality of the work and of its author, but he could tolerate Cibber.' [p. lxxix (1804).]

but he is himself of so generous, jovial, and kindly a turn that he begins to like the characters which he invents, can't help making them manly and pleasant as well as ridiculous, and before he has done with them all loves them heartily every one.

Richardson's sickening antipathy for Harry Fielding is quite as natural as the other's laughter and contempt at the sentimentalist. I have not learned that these likings and dislikings have ceased in the present day: and every author must lay his account not only to misrepresentation but to honest enmity among critics, and to being hated and abused for good as well as for bad reasons. Richardson disliked Fielding's works quite honestly: Walpole quite honestly spoke of them as vulgar and stupid. Their squeamish stomachs sickened at the rough fare and the rough guests assembled at Fielding's jolly revel. Indeed the cloth might have been cleaner; and the dinner and the company were scarce such as suited a dandy. The kind and wise old Johnson would not sit down with him.[1] But a greater scholar than Johnson could afford to admire that astonishing genius of Harry Fielding: and we all know the lofty panegyric which Gibbon wrote of him, and which remains a towering monument to the great novelist's memory. 'Our immortal Fielding,' Gibbon writes, 'was of the younger branch of the Earls of Denbigh, who draw their origin from the Counts of Hapsburgh. . . . The successors of Charles the Fifth may disdain their brethren of England: but the romance of *Tom Jones*, that exquisite picture of human manners, will outlive the palace of the Escurial and the imperial eagle of the house of Austria.' There can be no gainsaying the sentence of this great judge. To have your name mentioned by Gibbon is like having it written

[1] It must always be borne in mind, that besides that the Doctor couldn't be expected to like Fielding's wild life (to say nothing of the fact, that they were of opposite sides in politics), Richardson was one of his earliest and kindest friends. Yet Johnson too (as Boswell tells us) 'read *Amelia* through without stopping'. [*Life*, anno 1776.]

on the dome of St. Peter's. Pilgrims from all the world admire and behold it.

As a picture of manners, the novel of *Tom Jones* is indeed exquisite: as a work of construction quite a wonder: the by-play of wisdom; the power of observation; the multiplied felicitous turns and thoughts; the varied character of the great Comic Epic; keep the reader in a perpetual admiration and curiosity.[1] But against Mr. Thomas Jones himself we have a right to put in a protest, and quarrel with the esteem the author evidently has for that character. Charles Lamb says finely of Jones, that a single hearty laugh from him 'clears the air'—but then it is in a certain state of the atmosphere. It might clear the air when such personages as Blifil or Lady Bellaston poison it. But I fear very much that (except until the very last scene of the story), when Mr. Jones enters Sophia's drawing-room, the pure air there is rather tainted with the young gentleman's tobacco-pipe and punch. I can't say that I think Mr. Jones a virtuous character; I can't say but that I think Fielding's evident liking and admiration for Mr. Jones, shows that the great humourist's moral sense was blunted by his life, and that here in Art and Ethics,

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[1] 'Manners change from generation to generation, and with manners morals appear to change—actually change with some, but appear to change with all but the abandoned. A young man of the present day who should act as Tom Jones is supposed to act at Upton, with Lady Bellaston, &c., would not be a Tom Jones; and a Tom Jones of the present day, without perhaps being in the ground a better man, would have perished rather than submit to be kept by a harridan of fortune. Therefore, this novel is, and indeed pretends to be no exemplar of conduct. But, notwithstanding all this, I do loathe the cant which can recommend *Pamela* and *Clarissa Harlowe* as strictly moral, though they poison the imagination of the young with continued doses of *tinct. lyttae*, while *Tom Jones* is prohibited as loose. I do not speak of young women; but a young man whose heart or feelings can be injured, or even his passions excited by aught in this novel, is already thoroughly corrupt. There is a cheerful, sunshiny, breezy spirit, that prevails everywhere, strongly contrasted with the close, hot, day-dreamy continuity of Richardson.'—COLERIDGE, *Literary Remains*, vol. ii, p. 373.

there is a great error. If it is right to have a hero whom we may admire, let us at least take care that he is admirable: if, as is the plan of some authors (a plan decidedly against their interests, be it said), it is propounded that there exists in life no such being, and therefore that in novels, the picture of life, there should appear no such character; then Mr. Thomas Jones becomes an admissible person, and we examine his defects and good qualities, as we do those of Parson Thwackum, or Miss Seagrim. But a hero with a flawed reputation; a hero spunging for a guinea; a hero who can't pay his landlady, and is obliged to let his honour out to hire, is absurd, and his claim to heroic rank untenable. I protest against Mr. Thomas Jones holding such rank at all. I protest even against his being considered a more than ordinary young fellow, ruddy-cheeked, broad-shouldered, and fond of wine and pleasure. He would not rob a church, but that is all; and a pretty long argument may be debated, as to which of these old types, the spendthrift, the hypocrite, Jones and Blifil, Charles and Joseph Surface,—is the worst member of society and the most deserving of censure. The prodigal Captain Booth is a better man than his predecessor Mr. Jones, in so far as he thinks much more humbly of himself than Jones did: goes down on his knees, and owns his weaknesses, and cries out, 'Not for my sake, but for the sake of my pure and sweet and beautiful wife Amelia, I pray you, O critical reader, to forgive me.' That stern moralist regards him from the bench (the judge's practice out of court is not here the question), and says, 'Captain Booth, it is perfectly true that your life has been disreputable, and that on many occasions you have shown yourself to be no better than a scamp—you have been tippling at the tavern, when the kindest and sweetest lady in the world has cooked your little supper of boiled mutton and awaited you all the night; you have spoilt the little dish of boiled mutton thereby, and caused pangs and pains to Amelia's tender heart.[1] You have

[1] 'Nor was she (Lady Mary Wortley Montagu) a stranger to

got into debt without the means of paying it. You have gambled the money with which you ought to have paid your rent. You have spent in drink or in worse amusements the sums which your poor wife has raised upon her little home treasures, her own ornaments, and the toys of her children. But, you rascal! you own humbly that you are no better than you should be; you never for one moment pretend that you are anything but a miserable weak-minded rogue. You do in your heart adore that angelic woman, your wife, and for her sake, sirrah, you shall have your discharge. Lucky for you and for others like you, that in spite of your failings and imperfections, pure hearts pity and

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that beloved first wife, whose picture he drew in his *Amelia*, where, as she said, even the glowing language he knew how to employ, did not do more than justice to the amiable qualities of the original, or to her beauty, although this had suffered a little from the accident related in the novel—a frightful overturn, which destroyed the gristle of her nose. He loved her passionately, and she returned his affection. . . .

'His biographers seem to have been shy of disclosing that after the death of this charming woman, he married her maid. And yet the act was not so discreditable to his character as it may sound. The maid had few personal charms, but was an excellent creature, devotedly attached to her mistress, and almost broken-hearted for her loss. In the first agonies of his own grief, which approached to frenzy, he found no relief but from weeping along with her; nor solace when a degree calmer, but in talking to her of the angel they mutually regretted. This made her his habitual confidential associate, and in process of time he began to think he could not give his children a tenderer mother, or secure for himself a more faithful housekeeper and nurse. At least, this was what he told his friends; and it is certain that her conduct as his wife confirmed it, and fully justified his good opinion.'—*Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Edited by Lord Wharncliffe. *Introductory Anecdotes*, vol. i. pp. 79 sqq.

Fielding's first wife was Miss Cradock, a young lady from Salisbury, with a fortune of 1,500*l.*, whom he married in 1734. About the same time he succeeded, himself, to an estate of 200*l.* per annum, and on the joint amount he lived for some time as a splendid country gentleman in Dorsetshire. Three years brought him to the end of his fortune; when he returned to London, and became a student of law.

love you. For your wife's sake you are permitted to go hence without a remand ; and I beg you, by the way, to carry to that angelical lady the expression of the cordial respect and admiration of this court.' Amelia pleads for her husband Will Booth : Amelia pleads for her reckless kindly old father, Harry Fielding. To have invented that character, is not only a triumph of art, but it is a good action. They say it was in his own home that Fielding knew her and loved her : and from his own wife that he drew the most charming character in English fiction—Fiction ! why fiction ? why not history ? I know Amelia just as well as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. I believe in Colonel Bath almost as much as in Colonel Gardiner or the Duke of Cumberland. I admire the author of *Amelia*, and thank the kind master who introduced me to that sweet and delightful companion and friend. *Amelia* perhaps is not a better story than *Tom Jones*, but it has the better ethics ; the prodigal repents at least, before forgiveness, —whereas that odious broad-backed Mr. Jones carries off his beauty with scarce an interval of remorse for his manifold errors and shortcomings ; and is not half punished enough before the great prize of fortune and love falls to his share. I am angry with Jones. Too much of the plum-cake and rewards of life fall to that boisterous, swaggering young scapegrace. Sophia actually surrenders without a proper sense of decorum ; the fond, foolish, palpitating little creature,—' Indeed, Mr. Jones,' she says,—' it rests with you to appoint the day.' I suppose Sophia is drawn from life as well as Amelia ; and many a young fellow, no better than Mr. Thomas Jones, has carried by a *coup de main* the heart of many a kind girl who was a great deal too good for him.

What a wonderful art ! What an admirable gift of nature, was it by which the author of these tales was endowed, and which enabled him to fix our interest, to waken our sympathy, to seize upon our credulity, so that we believe in his people—speculate gravely upon their faults or their excellences, prefer this one or that,

deplore Jones's fondness for drink and play, Booth's fondness for play and drink, and the unfortunate position of the wives of both gentlemen—love and admire those ladies with all our hearts, and talk about them as faithfully as if we had breakfasted with them this morning in their actual drawing-rooms, or should meet them this afternoon in the Park! What a genius! what a vigour! what a bright-eyed intelligence and observation! what a wholesome hatred for meanness and knavery! what a vast sympathy! what a cheerfulness! what a manly relish of life! what a love of human kind! what a poet is here!—watching, meditating, brooding, creating! What multitudes of truths has that man left behind him: what generations he has taught to laugh wisely and fairly: what scholars he has formed and accustomed to the exercise of thoughtful humour and the manly play of wit! What a courage he had![1] What a dauntless and constant cheerfulness of intellect, that burned bright and steady through all the storms of his life, and never deserted its last wreck! It is wonderful to think of the pains and misery which the man suffered; the pressure of want, illness, remorse which he endured;

[1] In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for [August] 1786, an anecdote is related of Harry Fielding, 'in whom,' says the correspondent, 'good nature and philanthropy in their extreme degree were known to be the prominent features.' It seems that 'some parochial taxes' for his house in Beaufort Buildings had long been demanded by the collector. At last, Harry went off to Tonson, and obtained by a process of literary mortgage the needful sum. He was returning with it, when he met an old college chum whom he had not seen for many years. He asked the chum to dinner with him at a neighbouring tavern; and learning that he was in difficulties, emptied the contents of his pocket into his. On returning home he was informed that the collector had been twice for the money. "Friendship has called for the money and had it," said Fielding; "let the collector call again."

It is elsewhere told of him, that being in company with the Earl of Denbigh, his kinsman, and the conversation turning upon their relationship, the Earl asked him how it was that he spelled his name 'Fielding', and not 'Feilding', like the head of the house? 'I cannot tell, my lord,' said he, 'except it be that my branch of the family were the first that knew how to spell.'

and that the writer was neither malignant nor melancholy, his view of truth never warped, and his generous human kindness never surrendered.[1]

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[1] In 1748, he was made Justice of the Peace for Westminster and Middlesex, an office then paid by fees, and very laborious, without being particularly reputable. It may be seen from his own words, in the Introduction to the *Voyage*, what kind of work devolved upon him, and in what a state he was, during these last years; and still more clearly, how he comported himself through all.

'Whilst I was preparing for my journey, and when I was almost fatigued to death with several long examinations, relating to five different murders, all committed within the space of a week, by different gangs of street-robbers, I received a message from his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, by Mr. Carrington, the King's messenger, to attend his Grace the next morning in Lincoln's Inn Fields, upon some business of importance; but I excused myself from complying with the message, as, besides being lame, I was very ill with the great fatigues I had lately undergone, added to my distemper.

'His Grace, however, sent Mr. Carrington the very next morning, with another summons; with which, though in the utmost distress, I immediately complied; but the Duke happening, unfortunately for me, to be then particularly engaged, after I had waited some time, sent a gentleman to discourse with me on the best plan which could be invented for putting an immediate end to those murders and robberies which were every day committed in the streets; upon which I promised to transmit my opinion in writing to his Grace, who, as the gentleman informed me, intended to lay it before the Privy Council.

'Though this visit cost me a severe cold, I, notwithstanding, set myself down to work, and in about four days sent the Duke as regular a plan as I could form, with all the reasons and arguments I could bring to support it, drawn out in several sheets of paper; and soon received a message from the Duke by Mr. Carrington, acquainting me that my plan was highly approved of, and that all the terms of it would be complied with.

'The principal and most material of those terms was the immediately depositing 600*l.* in my hands; at which small charge I undertook to demolish the then reigning gangs, and to put the civil policy into such order, that no such gangs should ever be able for the future to form themselves into bodies, or at least to remain any time formidable to the public.

'I had delayed my Bath journey for some time, contrary to the repeated advice of my physical acquaintance, and the ardent desire of my warmest friends, though my distemper was now turned to a deep jaundice; in which case the Bath waters

In the quarrel mentioned before, which happened on Fielding's last voyage to Lisbon, and when the stout captain of the ship fell down on his knees and asked the sick man's pardon—'I did not suffer,' Fielding says, in his hearty, manly way, his eyes lighting up as it were with their old fire—'I did not suffer a brave man and an old man to remain a moment in this posture; but I immediately forgave him.' Indeed, I think, with his noble spirit and unconquerable generosity, Fielding reminds one of those brave men of whom one reads in stories of English shipwrecks and disasters—of the officer on the African shore, when disease has destroyed the crew, and he himself is seized by fever, who throws the lead with a death-stricken hand, takes the soundings, carries the ship out of the river or off the dangerous coast, and dies in the manly endeavour—of the wounded captain, when the vessel founders, who never loses his heart, who eyes the danger steadily, and has a cheery word for all, until the inevitable fate overwhelms him, and the gallant ship goes down. Such a brave and gentle heart, such an intrepid and courageous spirit, I love to recognize in the manly, the English Harry Fielding.

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are generally reputed to be almost infallible. But I had the most eager desire of demolishing this gang of villains and cut-throats. . . .

'After some weeks the money was paid at the Treasury, and within a few days, after 200*l.* of it had come to my hands, the whole gang of cut-throats was entirely dispersed. . . .' [*Voyage to Lisbon*, pp. 369 sqq.]

Further on, he says—

'I will confess that my private affairs at the beginning of the winter had but a gloomy aspect; for I had not plundered the public or the poor of those sums which men, who are always ready to plunder both as much as they can, have been pleased to suspect me of taking; on the contrary, by composing, instead of inflaming, the quarrels of porters and beggars (which I blush when I say hath not been universally practised), and by refusing to take a shilling from a man who most undoubtedly would not have had another left, I had reduced an income of about 500*l.* a year of the dirtiest money upon earth, to little more than 300*l.*, a considerable portion of which remained with my clerk.'

LECTURE THE SIXTH

STERNE AND GOLDSMITH

Roger Sterne, Sterne's father, was the second son of a numerous race, descendants of Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York, in the reign of James II; and children of Simon Sterne and Mary Jaques, his wife, heiress of Elvington, near York.[1] Roger was a lieutenant in Handyside's regiment, and engaged in Flanders in Queen Anne's wars. He married the daughter of a noted sutler—'N.B., he was in debt to him,' his son writes, pursuing the paternal biography—and marched through the world with this companion following the regiment and bringing many children to poor Roger Sterne. The captain was an irascible but kind and simple little man, Sterne says, and informs us that his sire was run through the body at Gibraltar, by a brother officer, in a duel, which arose out of a dispute about a goose. Roger never entirely recovered from the effects of this rencontre, but died presently at Jamaica, whither he had followed the drum.

Laurence, his second child, was born at Clonmel, in Ireland, in 1713, and travelled for the first ten years of his life, on his father's march, from barrack to transport, from Ireland to England.[2] One relative of his mother's took her and her family under shelter for ten months at Mullingar: another collateral descendant of the Arch-

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[1] He came of a Suffolk family—one of whom settled in Nottinghamshire. The famous 'starling' was actually the family crest.

[2] 'It was in this parish' (of Animo, in Wicklow), 'during our stay, that I had that wonderful escape in falling through a mill-race, whilst the mill was going, and of being taken up unhurt; the story is incredible, but known for truth in all that part of Ireland, where hundreds of the common people flocked to see me.'—Sterne. [*Autobiography.*]

bishop's housed them for a year at his castle near Carrickfergus. Larry Sterne was put to school at Halifax in England, finally was adopted by his kinsman of Elvington, and parted company with his father, the Captain, who marched on his path of life till he met the fatal goose, which closed his career. The most picturesque and delightful parts of Laurence Sterne's writings, we owe to his recollections of the military life. Trim's montero cap, and Le Fevre's sword, and dear Uncle Toby's roquelaure, are doubtless reminiscences of the boy, who had lived with the followers of William and Marlborough, and had beat time with his little feet to the fifes of Ramillies in Dublin barrack-yard, or played with the torn flags and halberds of Malplaquet on the parade-ground at Clonmel.

Laurence remained at Halifax school till he was eighteen years old. His wit and cleverness appear to have acquired the respect of his master here: for when the usher whipped Laurence for writing his name on the newly whitewashed schoolroom ceiling, the pedagogue in chief rebuked the under-strapper, and said that the name should never be effaced, for Sterne was a boy of genius, and would come to preferment.

His cousin, the Squire of Elvington, sent Sterne to Jesus College, Cambridge, where he remained five years, and taking orders, got, through his uncle's interest, the living of Sutton and the prebendary of York. Through his wife's connexions, he got the living of Stillington. He married her in 1741; having ardently courted the young lady for some years previously. It was not until the young lady fancied herself dying, that she made Sterne acquainted with the extent of her liking for him. One evening when he was sitting with her, with an almost broken heart to see her so ill (the Rev. Mr. Sterne's heart was a good deal broken in the course of his life), she said—'My dear Laurey, I can never be yours, for I verily believe I have not long to live, but I have left you every shilling of my fortune,' a generosity which overpowered Sterne: she recovered: and so they were married, and grew heartily tired of each other before

many years were over. 'Nescio quid est materia cum me,' Sterne writes to one of his friends (in dog-Latin, and very sad dog-Latin too), 'sed sum fatigatus et aegrotus de mea uxore plus quam unquam,' which means, I am sorry to say, 'I don't know what is the matter with me: but I am more tired and sick of my wife than ever.'[1]

This to be sure was five-and-twenty years after Laurey had been overcome by her generosity and she by Laurey's love. Then he wrote to her of the delights of marriage, saying—'We will be as merry and as innocent as our first parents in Paradise, before the arch-fiend entered that undescribable scene. The kindest affections will have room to shoot and expand in our retirement . . . let the human tempest and hurricane rage at a distance, the desolation is beyond the horizon of peace. My L. has seen a polyanthus blow in December—some friendly wall has sheltered it from the biting wind.—No planetary influence shall reach us, but that which presides and cherishes the sweetest flowers. . . . The gloomy family of care and distrust shall be banished from our dwelling, guarded by thy kind and tutelar deity—we will sing our choral songs of gratitude and rejoice to the end of our pilgrimage. Adieu, my L. Return to one who languishes for thy society!' . . . 'As I take up my pen, my poor pulse quickens, my pale face glows, and tears are trickling down upon the paper as I trace the word L.'

And it is about this woman, with whom he finds no fault, but that she bores him, that our philanthropist writes, 'Sum fatigatus et aegrotus'; and then adds, '*Sum mortaliter in amore*' with somebody else! That fine flower of love, that polyanthus over which Sterne snivelled so many tears, could not last for a quarter of

[1] 'My wife returns to Toulouse, and purposes to pass the summer at Bagnières—I, on the contrary, go and visit my wife, the church in Yorkshire. We all live the longer, at least the happier, for having things our own way. This is my conjugal maxim.—I own 'tis not the best of maxims, but I maintain 'tis not the worst.'—STERNE'S *Letters*, 20th January, 1764. [*Letter* 45.]

a century! Or rather it could not be supposed that a gentleman with such a fountain at command, should keep it to *arroser* one homely old lady, when a score of younger and prettier people might be refreshed from the same gushing source.[1] It was in December, 1767, that the Rev. Laurence Sterne, the famous Shandean, the charming Yorick, the delight of the fashionable world, the delicious divine, for whose sermons the whole polite public was subscribing,[2] the occupier of Rabelais's easy

[1] In a collection of *Seven Letters by Sterne and His Friends*, (printed for private circulation), in 1844, is a letter of M. Tollot, who was in France with Sterne and his family in 1764. Here is a paragraph:—

'Nous arrivâmes le lendemain à Montpellier, où nous trouvâmes notre ami Mr. Sterne, sa femme, sa fille, Mr. Huet, et quelques autres Anglaises; j'eus, je vous l'avoue, beaucoup de plaisir en revoyant le bon et agréable Tristram. . . . Il avait été assez longtemps à Toulouse, où il se serait amusé sans sa femme, qui le poursuivait partout, et qui voulait être de tout. Ces dispositions dans cette bonne dame lui ont fait passer d'assez mauvais momens; il supporte tous ces désagrémens avec une patience d'ange.'

About four months after this very characteristic letter, Sterne wrote to the same gentleman to whom Tollot had written; and from his letter we may extract a companion paragraph:—

'. . . All which being premised, I have been for eight weeks smitten with the tenderest passion that ever tender wight underwent. I wish, dear cousin, thou couldst conceive (perhaps thou canst without my wishing it) how deliciously I canter'd away with it the first month, two up, two down, always upon my *hanches*, along the streets from my hotel to hers, at first once—then twice, then three times a day, till at length I was within an ace of setting up my hobby-horse in her stable for good and all. I might as well, considering how the enemies of the Lord have blasphemed thereupon. The last three weeks we were every hour upon the doleful ditty of parting—and thou mayest conceive, dear cousin, how it altered my gait and air—for I went and came like any louden'd carl, and did nothing but mix tears and *jouer des sentimens* with her from sun-rising even to the setting of the same; and now she is gone to the south of France; and to finish the *comédie*, I fell ill and broke a vessel in my lungs, and half bled to death. *Voilà mon histoire!*'

Whether husband or wife had most of the *patience d'ange* may be uncertain; but there can be no doubt which needed it most!

[2] 'Tristram Shandy is still a greater object of admiration, the man as well as the book; one is invited to dinner, where he

chair, only fresh stuffed and more elegant than when in possession of the cynical old curate of Meudon,[1]—the

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dines, a fortnight beforehand.' [Gray's Letter to Dr. Wharton, Apr. 22, 1760.] As to the volume yet published, 'there is much good fun in it, and humour sometimes hit and sometimes missed. . . . Have you read his *Sermons*, with his own comick figure [from a painting by Reynolds] at the head of them? They are in the style I think most proper for the pulpit, and show a very strong imagination and a sensible heart; but you see him often tottering on the verge of laughter, and ready to throw his periwig in the face of his audience.' [Ib., June or July 1760.]

'It having been observed that there was little hospitality in London—Johnson: "Nay, sir, any man who has a name, or who has the power of pleasing, will be very generally invited in London. The man, Sterne, I have been told, has had engagements for three months." Goldsmith: "And a very dull fellow." Johnson: "Why, no, sir." '—Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. [anno 1773.]

'Her [Miss Monckton's] vivacity enchanted the sage, and they used to talk together with all imaginable ease. A singular instance happened one evening, when she insisted that some of Sterne's writings were very pathetic. Johnson bluntly denied it. "I am sure," said she, "they have affected me." "Why," said Johnson, smiling, and rolling himself about—"that is, because, dearest, you're a dunce." When she some time afterwards mentioned this to him, he said with equal truth and politeness, "Madam, if I had thought so, I certainly should not have said it." '—Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. [anno 1781.]

[1] A passage or two from Sterne's *Sermons* may not be without interest here. Is not the following, levelled against the cruelties of the Church of Rome, stamped with the autograph of the author of the *Sentimental Journey*?—

'To be convinced of this, go with me for a moment into the prisons of the Inquisition—behold *religion* with mercy and justice chained down under her feet,—there, sitting ghastly upon a black tribunal, propped up with racks, and instruments of torment.—Hark!—what a piteous groan!—See the melancholy wretch who uttered it, just brought forth to undergo the anguish of a mock-trial, and endure the utmost pains that a studied system of *religious cruelty* has been able to invent. Behold this helpless victim delivered up to his tormentors. His body so wasted with sorrow and long confinement, you'll see every nerve and muscle as it suffers. Observe the last movement of that horrid engine.—What convulsions it has thrown him into! Consider the nature of the posture in which he now lies stretched.—What exquisite torture he endures by it.—'Tis all nature can bear.—Good God! see how it keeps his weary soul hanging upon his

more than rival of the Dean of St. Patrick's, wrote the above-quoted respectable letter to his friend in London: and it was in April of the same year, that he was pouring out his fond heart to Mrs. Elizabeth Draper, wife of 'Daniel Draper, Esq., Counsellor of Bombay, and, in 1775, chief of the factory of Surat—a gentleman very much respected in that quarter of the globe'.

'I got thy letter last night, Eliza,' Sterne writes, 'on my return from Lord Bathurst's, where I dined'—(the letter has this merit in it that it contains a pleasant reminiscence of better men than Sterne, and introduces us to a portrait of a kind old gentleman)—'I got

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trembling lips, willing to take its leave, but not suffered to depart. Behold the unhappy wretch led back to his cell,—dragg'd out of it again to meet the flames—and the insults in his last agonies, which this principle—this principle, that there can be religion without morality—has prepared for him.'—*Sermon 27th.*

The next extract is preached on a text to be found in Judges xix, ver. 1, 2, 3, concerning a 'certain Levite':—

'Such a one the Levite wanted to share his solitude and fill up that uncomfortable blank in the heart in such a situation; for, notwithstanding all we meet with in books, in many of which, no doubt, there are a good many handsome things said upon the sweets of retirement, &c. . . . yet still "it *is not good for man to be alone*": nor can all which the cold-hearted pedant stuns our ears with upon the subject, ever give one answer of satisfaction to the mind; in the midst of the loudest vauntings of philosophy, nature will have her yearnings for society and friendship;—a good heart wants some object to be kind to—and the best parts of our blood, and the purest of our spirits, suffer most under the destitution.

'Let the torpid monk seek Heaven comfortless and alone. God speed him! For my own part, I fear I should never so find the way; let me be wise and religious, but let me be MAN; wherever Thy Providence places me, or whatever be the road I take to get to Thee, give me some companion in my journey, be it only to remark to, "How our shadows lengthen as the sun goes down";—to whom I may say, "How fresh is the face of Nature! how sweet the flowers of the field! how delicious are these fruits!"'—*Sermon 18th.*

The first of these passages gives us another drawing of the famous 'Captive'. The second shows that the same reflection was suggested to the Rev. Laurence, by a text in Judges, as by the *fille-de-chambre.*

Sterne's *Sermons* were published as those of 'Mr. Yorick'.

thy letter last night, Eliza, on my return from Lord Bathurst's; and where I was heard—as I talked of thee an hour without intermission—with so much pleasure and attention, that the good old lord toasted your health three different times; and now he is in his 85th year, says he hopes to live long enough to be introduced as a friend to my fair Indian disciple, and to see her eclipse all other Nabobesses as much in wealth, as she does already in exterior, and what is far better' (for Sterne is nothing without his morality)—'and what is far better, in interior merit. . . . This nobleman is an old friend of mine. You know he was always the protector of men of wit and genius, and has had those of the last century, Addison, Steele, Pope, Swift, Prior, &c. &c., always at his table. The manner in which his notice began of me was as singular as it was polite. He came up to me one day as I was at the Princess of Wales's court. "I want to know you, Mr. Sterne, but it is fit you should know also who it is that wishes this pleasure. You have heard," continued he, "of an old Lord Bathurst, of whom your Popes and Swifts have sung and spoken so much: I have lived my life with geniuses of that cast; but have survived them; and, despairing ever to find their equals, it is some years since I have closed my accounts and shut up my books . . .; but you have kindled a desire in me of opening them once more before I die: which I now do: so go home and dine with me." This nobleman, I say, is a prodigy, for at eighty-five he has all the wit and promptness of a man of thirty; a disposition to be pleased, and a power to please others, beyond whatever I knew: added to which a man of learning, courtesy, and feeling.'

'He heard me talk of thee, Eliza, with uncommon satisfaction—for there was only a third person, and of sensibility, with us: and a most sentimental afternoon till nine o'clock have we passed![1] But thou, Eliza, wert

[1] 'I am glad that you are in love—'twill cure you at least of the spleen, which has a bad effect on both man and woman—I myself must ever have some Dulcinea in my head; it harmonizes

the star that conducted and enlivened the discourse. And when I talked not of thee, still didst thou fill my mind, and warmed every thought I uttered, for I am not ashamed to acknowledge I greatly miss thee. Best of all good girls!—the sufferings I have sustained the whole night on account of thine, Eliza, are beyond my power of words. . . . And so thou hast fixed thy Bramin's portrait over thy writing desk, and wilt consult it in all doubts and difficulties.—Grateful and good girl! Yorick smiles contentedly over all thou dost: his picture does not do justice to his own complacency. . . . I am glad your shipmates are friendly beings' (Eliza was at Deal, going back to the Counsellor at Bombay, and indeed it was high time she should be off). 'You could least dispense with what is contrary to your own nature, which is soft and gentle, Eliza. It would civilize savages.—Though pity were it thou shouldst be tainted with the office! . . . Write to me, my child, thy delicious letters. Let them speak the easy carelessness of a heart that opens itself anyhow and every how. . . . Such, Eliza, I write to thee!' (The artless rogue, of course he did!) 'And so I should ever live with thee, most artlessly, most affectionately, if Providence permitted thy residence in the same section of the globe: for I am, all that honour and affection can make me, "THY BRAMIN".'

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the soul; and in those cases I first endeavour to make the lady believe so, or rather, I begin first to make myself believe that I am in love—but I carry on my affairs quite in the French way, sentimentally—*l'amour* (say they) *n'est rien sans sentiment.* Now, notwithstanding they make such a pother about the *word*, they have no precise idea annexed to it. And so much for that same subject called love.'—STERNE'S *Letters*, May 23rd, 1765. [*Letter* 58.]

'PS.—My *Sentimental Journey* will please Mrs. J—— and my Lydia [his daughter, afterwards Mrs. Medalle]—I can answer for those two. It is a subject which works well, and suits the frame of mind I have been in for some time past. I told you my design in it was to teach us to love the world and our fellow creatures better than we do—so it runs most upon those gentler passions and affections which aid so much to it.'—(1767). [*Letter* 113.]

The Bramin continues addressing Mrs. Draper until the departure of the *Earl of Chatham*, Indiaman, from Deal, on the 2nd of April, 1767. He is amiably anxious about the fresh paint for Eliza's cabin; he is uncommonly solicitous about her companions on board: 'I fear the best of your shipmates are only genteel by comparison with the contrasted crew with which thou must behold them. So was—you know who!—from the same fallacy that was put upon the judgement when—but I will not mortify you!'

'You know who' was, of course, Daniel Draper, Esq., of Bombay—a gentleman very much respected in that quarter of the globe, and about whose probable health our worthy Bramin writes with delightful candour.

'I honour you, Eliza, for keeping secret some things which, if explained, had been a panegyric on yourself. There is a dignity in venerable affliction which will not allow it to appeal to the world for pity or redress. Well have you supported that character, my amiable, my philosophic friend! And indeed, I begin to think you have as many virtues as my Uncle Toby's widow. . . . Talking of widows—pray, Eliza, if ever you are such, do not think of giving yourself to some wealthy Nabob, because I design to marry you myself. My wife cannot live long, . . . and I know not the woman I should like so well for her substitute as yourself. 'Tis true I am ninety-five in constitution, and you but twenty-five; . . . but what I want in youth, I will make up in wit and good humour. Not Swift so loved his Stella, Scarron his Maintenon, or Waller his Saccharissa. . . . Tell me, in answer to this, that you approve and honour the proposal.'

Approve and honour the proposal! The coward was writing gay letters to his friends this while, with sneering allusions to this poor foolish *Bramine*. Her ship was not out of the Downs, and the charming Sterne was at the 'Mount' Coffee-house, with a sheet of gilt-edged paper before him, offering that precious treasure his heart to Lady P——, asking whether it gave her pleasure to see

him unhappy? whether it added to her triumph that her eyes and lips had turned a man into a fool?—quoting the Lord's Prayer, with a horrible baseness of blasphemy, as a proof that he had desired not to be led into temptation, and swearing himself the most tender and sincere fool in the world. It was from his home at Coxwould that he wrote the Latin letter, which, I suppose, he was ashamed to put into English. I find in my copy of the *Letters*, that there is a note of I can't call it admiration, at Letter 112, which seems to announce that there was a No. 3 to whom the wretched worn-out old scamp was paying his addresses;[1] and the year after, having come back to his lodgings in Bond Street, with his *Sentimental Journey* to launch upon the town, eager as ever for praise and pleasure; as vain, as wicked, as witty, as false as he had ever been, death at length seized the feeble wretch, and, on the 18th of March, 1768, that 'bale of cadaverous goods', as he calls his body, was consigned

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[1] TO MRS. H——.

'Coxwould, Nov. 15, 1767.

'Now be a good, dear woman, my H——, and execute these commissions well, and when I see you I will give you a kiss—there's for you! But I have something else for you which I am fabricating at a great rate, and that is my *Sentimental Journey*, which shall make you cry as much as it has affected me, or I will give up the business of sentimental writing . . .

'I am yours, &c. &c.,

'T. SHANDY.'

TO THE EARL OF ——.

'Coxwould, Nov. 28th, 1767.

'MY LORD—'Tis with the greatest pleasure I take my pen to thank your lordship for your letter of inquiry about Yorick—he has worn out both his spirits and body with the *Sentimental Journey;* 'tis true that an author must feel himself, or his reader will not—but I have torn my whole frame into pieces by my feelings—I believe the brain stands as much in need of recruiting as the body; therefore I shall set out for town the twentieth of next month, after having recruited myself a week at York. I might indeed solace myself with my wife (who is come from France), but, in fact, I have long been a sentimental being, whatever your lordship may think to the contrary.' [*Letter* 116.]

to Pluto.[1] In his last letter there is one sign of grace—the real affection with which he entreats a friend to be a guardian to his daughter Lydia.[2] All his letters to her are artless, kind, affectionate, and *not* sentimental; as a hundred pages in his writings are beautiful, and full, not of surprising humour merely, but of genuine love and kindness. A perilous trade, indeed, is that of a man who has to bring his tears and laughter, his recollections, his personal griefs and joys, his private thoughts and feelings to market, to write them on paper, and sell them for money. Does he exaggerate his grief, so as to get his reader's pity for a false sensibility? feign indignation, so as to establish a character for virtue? elaborate repartees, so that he may pass for a wit? steal from other authors, and put down the theft to the credit side of his own reputation for ingenuity and learning? feign originality? affect benevolence or misanthropy? appeal

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[1] 'It is known that Sterne died in hired lodgings, and I have been told that his attendants robbed him even of his gold sleeve-buttons while he was expiring.'—Dr. Ferriar. [*Illustrations of Sterne*, p. 175.]

'He died at No. 41 (now a cheesemonger's) on the west side of Old Bond Street.'—[Cunningham], *Handbook of London*. [p. 64, 2nd ed.]

[2] 'In February, 1768, Laurence Sterne, his frame exhausted by long debilitating illness, expired at his lodgings at Bond Street, London. There was something in the manner of his death singularly resembling the particulars detailed by Mrs. Quickly, as attending that of Falstaff, the compeer of Yorick for infinite jest, however unlike in other particulars. While life was ebbing fast and the patient lay on his bed totally exhausted, he complained that his feet were cold, and requested the female attendant to chafe them. She did so, and it seemed to relieve him. He complained that the cold came up higher; and whilst the assistant was in the act of rubbing his ankles and legs, he expired without a groan. It was also remarkable that his death took place much in the manner which he himself had wished; and that the last offices were rendered him, not in his own house, or by the hand of kindred affection, but in an inn, and by strangers.

'We are well acquainted with Sterne's features and personal appearance, to which he himself frequently alludes. He was tall and thin, with a hectic and consumptive appearance.'—Sir Walter Scott. [*Life of Sterne*, p. 321 (1827).]

to the gallery gods with claptraps and vulgar baits to catch applause ? How much of the paint and emphasis is necessary for the fair business of the stage, and how much of the rant and rouge is put on for the vanity of the actor ? His audience trusts him : can he trust himself ? How much was deliberate calculation and imposture—how much was false sensibility—and how much true feeling—where did the lie begin, and did he know where ? and where did the truth end in the art and scheme of this man of genius, this actor, this quack ? Some time since, I was in the company of a French actor, who began after dinner, and at his own request, to sing French songs of the sort called *des chansons grivoises*, and which he performed admirably, and to the dissatisfaction of most persons present. Having finished these, he commenced a sentimental ballad—it was so charmingly sung that it touched all persons present, and especially the singer himself, whose voice trembled, whose eyes filled with emotion, and who was snivelling and weeping quite genuine tears by the time his own ditty was over. I suppose Sterne had this artistical sensibility ; he used to blubber perpetually in his study, and finding his tears infectious, and that they brought him a great popularity, he exercised the lucrative gift of weeping ; he utilized it, and cried on every occasion. I own that I don't value or respect much the cheap dribble of those fountains. He fatigues me with his perpetual disquiet and his uneasy appeals to my risible or sentimental faculties. He is always looking in my face, watching his effect, uncertain whether I think him an impostor or not ; posture-making, coaxing, and imploring me. 'See what sensibility I have—own now that I'm very clever—do cry now, you can't resist this.' The humour of Swift and Rabelais, whom he pretended to succeed, poured from them as naturally as song does from a bird ; they lose no manly dignity with it, but laugh their hearty great laugh out of their broad chests as nature bade them. But this man—who can make you laugh, who can make you cry, too—never lets his reader alone, or will permit his audience repose : when you are quiet, he fancies

he must rouse you, and turns over head and heels, or sidles up and whispers a nasty story. The man is a great jester, not a great humourist. He goes to work systematically and of cold blood; paints his face, puts on his ruff and motley clothes, and lays down his carpet and tumbles on it.

For instance, take the *Sentimental Journey*, and see in the writer the deliberate propensity to make points and seek applause. He gets to Dessein's Hotel, he wants a carriage to travel to Paris, he goes to the inn-yard, and begins what the actors call 'business' at once. There is that little carriage the *désobligeante*. 'Four months had elapsed since it had finished its career of Europe in the corner of Monsieur Dessein's coachyard, and having sallied out thence but a vamped-up business at the first, though it had been twice taken to pieces on Mount Sennis, it had not profited much by its adventures, but by none so little as the standing so many months unpitied in the corner of Monsieur Dessein's coachyard. Much, indeed, was not to be said for it—but something might —and when a few words will rescue misery out of her distress, I hate the man who can be a churl of them.'

Le tour est fait! Paillasse has tumbled! Paillasse has jumped over the *désobligeante*, cleared it, hood and all, and bows to the noble company. Does anybody believe that this is a real sentiment? that this luxury of generosity, this gallant rescue of Misery—out of an old cab, is genuine feeling? It is as genuine as the virtuous oratory of Joseph Surface when he begins, 'The man who,' &c. &c., and wishes to pass off for a saint with his credulous, good-humoured dupes.

Our friend purchases the carriage—after turning that notorious old monk to good account, and effecting (like a soft and good-natured Paillasse as he was, and very free with his money when he had it), an exchange of snuff-boxes with the old Franciscan, jogs out of Calais; sets down in immense figures on the credit side of his account the sous he gives away to the Montreuil beggars; and, at Nampont, gets out of the chaise and whimpers over that famous dead donkey, for which any

sentimentalist may cry who will. It is agreeably and skilfully done—that dead jackass ; like M. de Soubise's cook, on the campaign, Sterne dresses it, and serves it up quite tender and with a very piquante sauce. But tears, and fine feelings, and a white pocket-handkerchief, and a funeral sermon, and horses and feathers, and a procession of mutes, and a hearse with a dead donkey inside ! Psha ! Mountebank ! I'll not give thee one penny more for that trick, donkey and all !

This donkey had appeared once before with signal effect. In 1765, three years before the publication of the *Sentimental Journey*, the seventh and eighth volumes of *Tristram Shandy* were given to the world, and the famous Lyons donkey makes his entry in those volumes :—[Book VII, chap. 32.]

' 'Twas by a poor ass, who had just turned in with a couple of large panniers upon his back, to collect eleemosynary turnip-tops and cabbage-leaves, and stood dubious, with his two forefeet on the inside of the threshold, and with his two hinder feet towards the street, as not knowing very well whether he was to go in or no.

' Now 'tis an animal (be in what hurry I may) I cannot bear to strike ; there is a patient endurance of sufferings wrote so unaffectedly in his looks and carriage which pleads so mightily for him, that it always disarms me, and to that degree that I do not like to speak unkindly to him : on the contrary, meet him where I will, whether in town or country, in cart or under panniers, whether in liberty or bondage, I have ever something civil to say to him on my part ; and, as one word begets another (if he has as little to do as I), I generally fall into conversation with him ; and surely never is my imagination so busy as in framing his responses from the etchings of his countenance ; and where those carry me not deep enough, in flying from my own heart into his, and seeing what is natural for an ass to think—as well as a man, upon the occasion. In truth, it is the only creature of all the classes of beings below me with whom I can do this. . . . With an ass I can commune for ever.

'"Come, Honesty," said I, seeing it was impracticable to pass betwixt him and the gate, "art thou for coming in or going out?"

'The ass twisted his head round to look up the street.

'"Well!" replied I, "we'll wait a minute for thy driver."

'He turned his head thoughtful about, and looked wistfully the opposite way.

'"I understand thee perfectly," answered I: "if thou takest a wrong step in this affair, he will cudgel thee to death. Well! a minute is but a minute; and if it saves a fellow creature a drubbing, it shall not be set down as ill spent."

'He was eating the stem of an artichoke as this discourse went on, and, in the little peevish contentions of nature between hunger and unsavouriness, had dropped it out of his mouth half a dozen times, and picked it up again. "God help thee, Jack!" said I, "thou hast a bitter breakfast on't—and many a bitter day's labour, and many a bitter blow, I fear, for its wages! 'Tis all, all bitterness to thee—whatever life is to others! And now thy mouth, if one knew the truth of it, is as bitter, I dare say, as soot" (for he had cast aside the stem), "and thou hast not a friend perhaps in all this world that will give thee a macaroon." In saying this, I pulled out a paper of 'em, which I had just purchased, and gave him one;—and, at this moment that I am telling it, my heart smites me that there was more of pleasantry in the conceit of seeing *how* an ass would eat a macaroon than of benevolence in giving him one, which presided in the act.

'When the ass had eaten his macaroon, I pressed him to come in. The poor beast was heavy loaded—his legs seemed to tremble under him—he hung rather backwards, and, as I pulled at his halter, it broke short in my hand. He looked up pensive in my face: "Don't thrash me with it: but if you will you may." "If I do," said I, "I'll be d——d."'

A critic who refuses to see in this charming description wit, humour, pathos, a kind nature speaking, and a real

sentiment, must be hard indeed to move and to please. A page or two farther we come to a description not less beautiful—a landscape and figures, deliciously painted by one who had the keenest enjoyment and the most tremulous sensibility :—

'"Twas in the road between Nismes and Lunel, where there is the best Muscatto wine in all France : . . . the sun was set, they had done their work ; the nymphs had tied up their hair afresh, and the swains were preparing for a carousal. My mule made a dead point. "'Tis the fife and tabourin," said I. . . . "I never will argue a point with one of your family as long as I live ;" so leaping off his back, and kicking off one boot into this ditch and t'other into that, "I'll take a dance," said I, "so stay you here."

'A sunburnt daughter of labour rose up from the group to meet me as I advanced towards them ; her hair, which was a dark chestnut approaching rather to a black, was tied up in a knot, all but a single tress.

'"We want a cavalier," said she, holding out both her hands, as if to offer them. "And a cavalier ye shall have," said I, taking hold of both of them. . . . "We could not have done without you," said she, letting go one hand, with self-taught politeness, and leading me up with the other.

'A lame youth, whom Apollo had recompensed with a pipe, and to which he had added a tabourin of his own accord, ran sweetly over the prelude, as he sat upon the bank. 'Tie me up this tress instantly,' said Nannette, putting a piece of string into my hand. It taught me to forget I was a stranger. The whole knot fell down—we had been seven years acquainted. The youth struck the note upon the tabourin, his pipe followed, and off we bounded.

'The sister of the youth—who had stolen her voice from Heaven—sang alternately with her brother. 'Twas a Gascoigne roundelay. "*Viva la joia, fidon la tristessa !*" —the nymphs joined in unison, and their swains an octave below them. . . .

'*Viva la joia* was in Nannette's lips ; *viva la joia* was

in her eyes. A transient spark of amity shot across the space betwixt us. She looked amiable. Why could I not live and end my days thus? "Just Disposer of our joys and sorrows!" cried I, "why could not a man sit down in the lap of content here, and dance, and sing, and say his prayers, and go to heaven with this nut-brown maid?" Capriciously did she bend her head on one side, and dance up insidious. "Then 'tis time to dance off," quoth I.'

And with this pretty dance and chorus, the volume artfully concludes. Even here one can't give the whole description. There is not a page in Sterne's writing but has something that were better away, a latent corruption—a hint, as of an impure presence.[1] Some of that

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[1] 'With regard to Sterne, and the charge of licentiousness which presses so seriously upon his character as a writer, I would remark that there is a sort of knowingness, the wit of which depends, firstly, on the modesty it gives pain to; or, secondly, on the innocence and innocent ignorance over which it triumphs; or thirdly, on a certain oscillation in the individual's own mind between the remaining good and the encroaching evil of his nature—a sort of dallying with the devil—a fluxionary act of combining courage and cowardice, as when a man snuffs a candle with his fingers for the first time, or better still, perhaps, like that trembling daring with which a child touches a hot tea-urn, because it has been forbidden; so that the mind has in its own white and black angel the same or similar amusement as may be supposed to take place between an old debauchee and a prude—she feeling resentment, on the one hand, from a prudential anxiety to preserve appearances and have a character, and, on the other, an inward sympathy with the enemy. We have only to suppose society innocent, and then nine-tenths of this sort of wit would be like a stone that falls in snow, making no sound, because exciting no resistance; the remainder rests on its being an offence against the good manners of human nature itself.

'This source, unworthy as it is, may doubtless be combined with wit, drollery, fancy, and even humour; and we have only to regret the misalliance; but that the latter are quite distinct from the former, may be made evident by abstracting in our imagination the morality of the characters of Mr. Shandy, my Uncle Toby, and Trim, which are all antagonists to this spurious sort of wit, from the rest of *Tristram Shandy*, and by supposing, instead of them, the presence of two or three callous debauchees. The result will be pure disgust. Sterne cannot be too severely

dreary *double entendre* may be attributed to freer times and manners than ours, but not all. The foul Satyr's eyes leer out of the leaves constantly: the last words the famous author wrote were bad and wicked—the last lines the poor stricken wretch penned were for pity and pardon. I think of these past writers and of one who lives amongst us now, and am grateful for the innocent laughter and the sweet and unsullied page which the author of *David Copperfield* gives to my children.

Jeté sur cette boule,
Laid, chétif et souffrant
Étouffé dans la foule,
Faute d'être assez grand;

Une plainte touchante
De ma bouche sortit;
Le bon Dieu me dit: Chante,
Chante, pauvre petit!

Chanter, ou je m'abuse,
Est ma tâche ici-bas.
Tous ceux qu'ainsi j'amuse,
Ne m'aimeront-ils pas?

In those charming lines of Béranger, one may fancy described the career, the sufferings, the genius, the gentle nature of GOLDSMITH, and the esteem in which we hold him. Who, of the millions whom he has amused, does not love him? To be the most beloved of English writers, what a title that is for a man![1] A wild youth,

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censured for thus using the best dispositions of our nature as the panders and condiments for the basest.'—COLERIDGE, *Literary Remains*, vol. i, pp. 141, 142.

[1] 'He was a friend to virtue, and in his most playful pages never forgets what is due to it. A gentleness, delicacy, and purity of feeling distinguishes whatever he wrote, and bears a correspondence to the generosity of a disposition which knew no bounds but his last guinea. . . .

'The admirable ease and grace of the narrative, as well as the pleasing truth with which the principal characters are designed, make the *Vicar of Wakefield* one of the most delicious morsels

wayward, but full of tenderness and affection, quits the country village where his boyhood has been passed in happy musing, in idle shelter, in fond longing to see the great world out of doors, and achieve name and fortune—and after years of dire struggle, and neglect and poverty, his heart turning back as fondly to his native place, as it had longed eagerly for change when sheltered there, he writes a book and a poem, full of the recollections and feelings of home—he paints the friends and scenes of his youth, and peoples Auburn and Wakefield with remembrances of Lissoy. Wander he must, but he carries away a home-relic with him, and dies with it on his breast. His nature is truant; in repose it longs for change: as on the journey it looks back for friends and quiet. He passes to-day in building an air-castle for to-morrow, or in writing yesterday's elegy; and he would fly away this hour, but that a cage and necessity keep him. What is the charm of his verse, of his style, and humour? His sweet regrets, his delicate compassion, his soft smile, his tremulous sympathy, the weakness which he owns? Your love for him is half pity. You come hot and tired from the day's battle, and this sweet minstrel sings to you. Who could harm the kind vagrant harper? Whom did he ever hurt? He carries no weapon—save the harp on which he plays to you; and with which he delights great and humble, young and old, the captains in the tents, or the soldiers round the fire, or the women and children in the villages, at whose porches he stops and sings his simple songs of love and beauty. With that sweet story of the *Vicar of Wakefield*,[1] he has found entry into every castle and every

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of fictitious composition on which the human mind was ever employed.

'. . . We read the *Vicar of Wakefield* in youth and in age—we return to it again and again, and bless the memory of an author who contrives so well to reconcile us to human nature.'—Sir Walter Scott. [*Life of Goldsmith*, pp. 279 sqq.]

[1] 'Now Herder came,' says Goethe in his Autobiography, relating his first acquaintance with Goldsmith's masterpiece, 'and together with his great knowledge brought many other aids, and the later publications besides. Among these he announced

hamlet. Not one of us, however busy or hard, but once or twice in our lives has passed an evening with him, and undergone the charm of his delightful music.

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to us the *Vicar of Wakefield* as an excellent work, with the German translation of which he would make us acquainted by reading it aloud to us himself. . . .

'A Protestant country clergyman is perhaps the most beautiful subject for a modern idyl; he appears like Melchizedeck, as priest and king in one person. To the most innocent situation which can be imagined on earth, to that of a husbandman, he is, for the most part, united by similarity of occupation as well as by equality in family relationships; he is a father, a master of a family, an agriculturist, and thus perfectly a member of the community. On this pure, beautiful, earthly foundation rests his higher calling; to him is it given to guide men through life, to take care of their spiritual education, to bless them at all the leading epochs of their existence, to instruct, to strengthen, to console them, and if consolation is not sufficient for the present, to call up and guarantee the hope of a happier future. Imagine such a man with pure human sentiments, strong enough not to deviate from them under any circumstances, and by this already elevated above the multitude of whom one cannot expect purity and firmness; give him the learning necessary for his office, as well as a cheerful, equable activity, which is even passionate, as it neglects no moment to do good—and you will have him well endowed. But at the same time add the necessary limitation, so that he must not only pause in a small circle, but may also, perchance, pass over to a smaller; grant him good nature, placability, resolution, and everything else praiseworthy that springs from a decided character, and over all this a cheerful spirit of compliance, and a smiling toleration of his own failings and those of others,—then you will have put together pretty well the image of our excellent Wakefield.

'The delineation of this character on his course of life through joys and sorrows, the ever-increasing interest of the story, by the combination of the entirely natural with the strange and the singular, make this novel one of the best which has ever been written; besides this, it has the great advantage that it is quite moral, nay, in a pure sense, Christian—represents the reward of a goodwill and perseverance in the right, strengthens an unconditional confidence in God, and attests the final triumph of good over evil; and all this without a trace of cant or pedantry. The author was preserved from both of these by an elevation of mind that shows itself throughout in the form of irony, by which this little work must appear to us as wise as it is amiable. The author, Dr. Goldsmith, has, without question, great insight into the moral world, into its strength and its infirmities; but at the

Goldsmith's father was no doubt the good Doctor Primrose, whom we all of us know.[1] Swift was yet alive,

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same time he can thankfully acknowledge that he is an Englishman, and reckon highly the advantages which his country and his nation afford him. The family, with the delineation of which he occupies himself, stands upon one of the last steps of citizen comfort, and yet comes in contact with the highest; its narrow circle, which becomes still more contracted, touches upon the great world through the natural and civil course of things; this little skiff floats on the agitated waves of English life, and in weal or woe it has to expect injury or help from the vast fleet which sails around it.

'I may suppose that my readers know this work, and have it in memory; whoever hears it named for the first time here, as well as he who is induced to read it again, will thank me.'—GOETHE, *Truth and Poetry; from my own Life* (English translation, vol. i, pp. 368-70). [Bohn's edition.]

'He seems from infancy to have been compounded of two natures, one bright, the other blundering; or to have had fairy gifts laid in his cradle by the 'good people' who haunted his birthplace, the old goblin mansion, on the banks of the Inny.

'He carries with him the wayward elfin spirit, if we may so term it, throughout his career. His fairy gifts are of no avail at school, academy, or college; they unfit him for close study and practical science, and render him heedless of everything that does not address itself to his poetical imagination, and genial and festive feelings; they dispose him to break away from restraint, to stroll about hedges, green lanes, and haunted streams, to revel with jovial companions, or to rove the country like a gipsy in quest of odd adventures. . . .

'Though his circumstances often compelled him to associate with the poor, they never could betray him into companionship with the depraved. His relish for humour, and for the study of character, as we have before observed, brought him often into convivial company of a vulgar kind; but he discriminated between their vulgarity and their amusing qualities, or rather wrought from the whole those familiar pictures of life which form the staple of his most popular writings.'—WASHINGTON IRVING. [*Goldsmith*, chap. 45 (revised edn.)]

[1] 'The family of Goldsmith, Goldsmyth, or, as it was occasionally written, Gouldsmith, is of considerable standing in Ireland, and seems always to have held a respectable station in society. Its origin is English, supposed to be derived from that which was long settled at Crayford in Kent.'—PRIOR'S *Life of Goldsmith*. [Chap. I.]

Oliver's father, great-grandfather, and great-great-grandfather were clergymen; and two of them married clergymen's daughters.

when the little Oliver was born at Pallas, or Pallasmore, in the county of Longford, in Ireland. In 1730, two years after the child's birth, Charles Goldsmith removed his family to Lissoy, in the county Westmeath, that sweet 'Auburn' which every person who hears me has seen in fancy. Here the kind parson[1] brought up his eight children; and loving all the world, as his son says, fancied all the world loved him. He had a crowd of poor dependants besides those hungry children. He kept an open table; round which sat flatterers and poor friends, who laughed at the honest rector's many jokes and ate the produce of his seventy acres of farm. Those who have seen an Irish house in the present day can fancy that one of Lissoy. The old beggar still has his allotted corner by the kitchen turf; the maimed old soldier still gets his potatoes and butter-milk; the poor cottier still asks his honour's charity, and prays God bless his Reverence for the sixpence: the ragged pensioner still takes his place by right and sufferance. There's still a crowd in the kitchen, and a crowd round the parlour-table, profusion, confusion, kindness, poverty. If an Irishman comes to London to make his fortune, he has a half-dozen of Irish dependants who take a percentage of his earnings. The good Charles

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[1] At church, with meek and unaffected grace,
His looks adorn'd the venerable place;
Truth from his lips prevail'd with double sway,
And fools who came to scoff remain'd to pray.
The service past, around the pious man
With steady zeal each honest rustic ran;
E'en children follow'd with endearing wile,
And pluck'd his gown to share the good man's smile.
His ready smile a parent's warmth exprest,
Their welfare pleased him, and their cares distrest;
To them his heart, his love, his griefs were given,
But all his serious thoughts had rest in Heaven.
As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.

The Deserted Village. [177 sqq.]

Goldsmith[1] left but little provision for his hungry race when death summoned him: and, one of his daughters being engaged to a squire of rather superior dignity, Charles Goldsmith impoverished the rest of his family to provide the girl with a dowry.

The small-pox, which scourged all Europe at that time, and ravaged the roses off the cheeks of half the world, fell foul of poor little Oliver's face, when the child was eight years old, and left him scarred and disfigured for his life. An old woman in his father's village taught him his letters, and pronounced him a dunce: Paddy Byrne, the hedge-schoolmaster, took him in hand; and from Paddy Byrne, he was transmitted to a clergyman at Elphin. When a child was sent to school in those days, the classic phrase was that he was placed under Mr. So-and-so's *ferule*. Poor little ancestors! It is hard to think how ruthlessly you were birched; and how much of needless whipping and tears our small forefathers had to undergo! A relative, kind Uncle Contarine, took the main charge of little Noll; who went through his school-days righteously doing as little work as he

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[1] 'In May this year (1768), he lost his brother, the Rev. Henry Goldsmith, for whom he had been unable to obtain preferment in the Church. . . .

'To the curacy of Kilkenny West, the moderate stipend of which, forty pounds a year, is sufficiently celebrated by his brother's lines, it has been stated that Mr. Goldsmith added a school, which, after having been held at more than one place in the vicinity, was finally fixed at Lissoy. Here his talents and industry gave it celebrity, and under his care the sons of many of the neighbouring gentry received their education. A fever breaking out among the boys about 1765, they dispersed for a time; but reassembling at Athlone, he continued his scholastic labours there until the time of his death, which happened, like that of his brother, about the forty-fifth year of his age. He was a man of an excellent heart and amiable disposition.'—Prior's *Goldsmith*. [Chap. XVII.]

> Where'er I roam, whatever realms to see,
> My heart, untravell'd, fondly turns to thee:
> Still to my brother turns with ceaseless pain,
> And drags at each remove a lengthening chain.
>
> *The Traveller*. [7 sqq.]

could: robbing orchards, playing at ball, and making his pocket-money fly about whenever fortune sent it to him. Everybody knows the story of that famous 'Mistake of a Night', when the young schoolboy, provided with a guinea and a nag, rode up to the 'best house' in Ardagh, called for the landlord's company over a bottle of wine at supper, and for a hot cake for breakfast in the morning; and found, when he asked for the bill, that the best house was Squire Featherstone's, and not the inn for which he mistook it. Who does not know every story about Goldsmith? That is a delightful and fantastic picture of the child dancing and capering about in the kitchen at home, when the old fiddler gibed at him for his ugliness—and called him Aesop, and little Noll made his repartee of 'Heralds proclaim aloud this saying—See Aesop dancing and his monkey playing.' One can fancy the queer pitiful look of humour and appeal upon that little scarred face—the funny little dancing figure, the funny little brogue. In his life, and his writings, which are the honest expression of it, he is constantly bewailing that homely face and person; anon he surveys them in the glass ruefully; and presently assumes the most comical dignity. He likes to deck out his little person in splendour and fine colours. He presented himself to be examined for ordination in a pair of scarlet breeches, and said honestly that he did not like to go into the Church, because he was fond of coloured clothes. When he tried to practise as a doctor, he got by hook or by crook a black velvet suit, and looked as big and grand as he could, and kept his hat over a patch on the old coat: in better days he bloomed out in plum-colour, in blue silk, and in new velvet. For some of those splendours the heirs of Mr. Filby, the tailor, have never been paid to this day; perhaps the kind tailor and his creditor have met and settled the little account in Hades.[1]

[1] 'When Goldsmith died, half the unpaid bill he owed to Mr. William Filby (amounting in all to 79*l.*) was for clothes supplied to this nephew Hodson.'—FORSTER'S *Goldsmith*, p. 520. [1848.]

They showed until lately a window at Trinity College, Dublin, on which the name of O. Goldsmith was engraved with a diamond. Whose diamond was it? Not the young sizar's, who made but a poor figure in that place of learning. He was idle, penniless, and fond of pleasure:[1] he learned his way early to the pawnbroker's shop. He wrote ballads, they say, for the street-singers, who paid him a crown for a poem: and his pleasure was to steal out at night and hear his verses sung. He was chastised by his tutor for giving a dance in his rooms, and took the box on the ear so much to heart, that he packed up his all, pawned his books and little property, and disappeared from college and family. He said he intended to go to America, but when his money was spent, the young prodigal came home ruefully, and the good folks there killed their calf—it was but a lean one—and welcomed him back.

After college, he hung about his mother's house, and lived for some years the life of a buckeen—passed a month with this relation and that, a year with one patron, a great deal of time at the public-house.[2] Tired of this life, it was resolved that he should go to London, and study at the Temple; but he got no farther on the road to London and the woolsack than Dublin, where he gambled away the fifty pounds given him for his outfit, and whence he returned to the indefatigable forgiveness of home. Then he determined to be a doctor, and Uncle Contarine helped him to a couple of years at Edinburgh.

As this nephew Hodson ended his days (see the same page) 'a prosperous Irish gentleman', it is not unreasonable to wish that he had cleared off Mr. Filby's bill.

[1] 'Poor fellow! He hardly knew an ass from a mule, nor a turkey from a goose, but when he saw it on the table.'—CUMBERLAND'S *Memoirs.* [Vol. I, p. 352 (1807).]

[2] 'These youthful follies, like the fermentation of liquors, often disturb the mind only in order to its future refinement: a life spent in phlegmatic apathy resembles those liquors which never ferment and are consequently always muddy.'—GOLDSMITH, *Memoir of Voltaire.*

'He (Johnson) said 'Goldsmith was a plant that flowered late. There appeared nothing remarkable about him when he was young.'—BOSWELL. [*Life of Johnson,* anno 1777.]

Then from Edinburgh he felt that he ought to hear the famous professors of Leyden and Paris, and wrote most amusing pompous letters to his uncle about the great Farheim, Du Petit, and Duhamel du Monceau, whose lectures he proposed to follow. If Uncle Contarine believed those letters—if Oliver's mother believed that story which the youth related of his going to Cork, with the purpose of embarking for America, of his having paid his passage-money, and having sent his kit on board; of the anonymous captain sailing away with Oliver's valuable luggage in a nameless ship, never to return; if Uncle Contarine and the mother at Ballymahon believed his stories, they must have been a very simple pair; as it was a very simple rogue indeed who cheated them. When the lad, after failing in his clerical examination, after failing in his plan for studying the law, took leave of these projects and of his parents, and set out for Edinburgh, he saw mother, and uncle, and lazy Ballymahon, and green native turf, and sparkling river for the last time. He was never to look on old Ireland more, and only in fancy revisit her.

> But me, not destined such delights to share,
> My prime of life in wandering spent and care,
> Impelled, with steps unceasing, to pursue
> Some fleeting good that mocks me with the view,
> That, like the circle bounding earth and skies,
> Allures from far, yet, as I follow, flies;
> My fortune leads to traverse realms alone,
> And find no spot of all the world my own.

I spoke in a former lecture of that high courage which enabled Fielding, in spite of disease, remorse, and poverty, always to retain a cheerful spirit and to keep his manly benevolence and love of truth intact, as if these treasures had been confided to him for the public benefit, and he was accountable to posterity for their honourable employ; and a constancy equally happy and admirable I think was shown by Goldsmith, whose sweet and friendly nature bloomed kindly always in the

midst of a life's storm, and rain, and bitter weather.[1] The poor fellow was never so friendless but he could befriend some one; never so pinched and wretched but he could give of his crust, and speak his word of compassion. If he had but his flute left, he could give that, and make the children happy in the dreary London court. He could give the coals in that queer coal-scuttle we read of to his poor neighbour: he could give away his blankets in college to the poor widow, and warm himself as he best might in the feathers: he could pawn his coat to save his landlord from gaol: when he was a school-usher, he spent his earnings in treats for the boys, and the good-natured schoolmaster's wife said justly that she ought to keep Mr. Goldsmith's money as well as the young gentlemen's. When he met his pupils in later life, nothing would satisfy the Doctor but he must treat them still. 'Have you seen the print of me after Sir Joshua Reynolds?' he asked of one of his old pupils. 'Not seen it? not bought it? Sure, Jack, if your picture had been published, I'd not have been without it half an hour.' His purse and his heart were everybody's and his friends' as much as his own. When he was at the height of reputation, and the Earl of Northumberland, going as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, asked if he could be of any service to Dr. Goldsmith, Goldsmith recommended his brother, and not himself, to the great man. 'My patrons,' he gallantly said, 'are the booksellers, and I want no others.'[2] Hard patrons they were, and

[1] 'An "inspired idiot", Goldsmith, hangs strangely about him [Johnson] . . . Yet, on the whole, there is no evil in the "goose-berry-fool", but rather much good; of a finer, if of a weaker sort than Johnson's; and all the more genuine that he himself could never become *conscious* of it, though unhappily never cease *attempting* to become so: the author of the genuine *Vicar of Wakefield*, nill he will he, must needs fly towards such a mass of genuine manhood.'—CARLYLE'S *Essays* (2nd ed.), vol. iv, p. 91. [*On Boswell's Life of Johnson.*]

[2] 'At present, the few poets of England no longer depend on the great for subsistence; they have now no other patrons but the public, and the public, collectively considered, is a good and a generous master. It is indeed too frequently mistaken

hard work he did; but he did not complain much: if in his early writings some bitter words escaped him, some allusions to neglect and poverty, he withdrew these expressions when his works were republished, and better days seemed to open for him; and he did not care to complain that printer or publisher had overlooked his merit, or left him poor. The Court face was turned from honest Oliver, the Court patronized Beattie; the fashion did not shine on him—fashion adored Sterne.[1]

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as to the merits of every candidate for favour; but to make amends, it is never mistaken long. A performance indeed may be forced for a time into reputation, but, destitute of real merit, it soon sinks; time, the touchstone of what is truly valuable, will soon discover the fraud, and an author should never arrogate to himself any share of success till his works have been read at least ten years with satisfaction.

'A man of letters at present, whose works are valuable, is perfectly sensible of their value. Every polite member of the community, by buying what he writes, contributes to reward him. The ridicule, therefore, of living in a garret might have been wit in the last age, but continues such no longer, because no longer true. A writer of real merit now may easily be rich, if his heart be set only on fortune: and for those who have no merit, it is but fit that such should remain in merited obscurity.' —Goldsmith, *Citizen of the World*, Let. 84.

[1] Goldsmith attacked Sterne, obviously enough, censuring his indecency, and slighting his wit, and ridiculing his manner, in the 53rd letter in *The Citizen of the World*.

'As in common conversation,' says he, 'the best way to make the audience laugh is by first laughing yourself; so in writing, the properest manner is to show an attempt at humour, which will pass upon most for humour in reality. To effect this, readers must be treated with the most perfect familiarity; in one page the author is to make them a low bow, and in the next to pull them by the nose; he must talk in riddles, and then send them to bed in order to dream for the solution,' &c.

Sterne's humorous *mot* on the subject of the gravest part of the charges, then, as now, made against him, may perhaps be quoted here, from the excellent, the respectable Sir Walter Scott.

'Soon after *Tristram* had appeared, Sterne asked a Yorkshire lady of fortune and condition, whether she had read his book. "I have not, Mr. Sterne," was the answer; "and to be plain with you, I am informed it is not proper for female perusal." "My dear good lady," replied the author, "do not be gulled by such stories; the book is like your young heir there" (pointing

Fashion pronounced Kelly to be the great writer of comedy of his day. A little—not ill humour, but plaintiveness—a little betrayal of wounded pride which he showed render him not the less amiable. The author of *The Vicar of Wakefield* had a right to protest when Newbery kept back the MS. for two years; had a right to be a little peevish with Sterne; a little angry when Colman's actors declined their parts in his delightful comedy, when the manager refused to have a scene painted for it, and pronounced its damnation before hearing. He had not the great public with him; but he had the noble Johnson, and the admirable Reynolds, and the great Gibbon, and the great Burke, and the great Fox—friends and admirers illustrious indeed, as famous as those who, fifty years before, sat round Pope's table.

Nobody knows, and I dare say Goldsmith's buoyant temper kept no account of all the pains which he endured during the early period of his literary career. Should any man of letters in our day have to bear up against such, Heaven grant he may come out of the period of misfortune with such a pure kind heart as that which Goldsmith obstinately bore in his breast. The insults to which he had to submit are shocking to read of—slander, contumely, vulgar satire, brutal malignity perverting his commonest motives and actions: he had his share of these, and one's anger is roused at reading of them, as it is at seeing a woman insulted or a child assaulted, at the notion that a creature so very gentle and weak, and full of love, should have had to suffer so. And he had worse than insult to undergo—to own to fault, and deprecate the anger of ruffians. There is a letter of his extant to one Griffiths, a bookseller, in which poor Goldsmith is forced to confess that certain books sent by Griffiths are in the hands of a friend from whom Goldsmith had been forced to borrow money.

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to a child of three years old, who was rolling on the carpet in his white tunics): "he shows at times a good deal that is usually concealed, but it is all in perfect innocence." ' [SCOTT, *Life of Sterne*, p. 323 (1827).]

'He was wild, sir,' Johnson said, speaking of Goldsmith to Boswell, with his great, wise benevolence and noble mercifulness of heart, 'Dr. Goldsmith was wild, sir; but he is so no more.' Ah! if we pity the good and weak man who suffers undeservedly, let us deal very gently with him from whom misery extorts not only tears, but shame; let us think humbly and charitably of the human nature that suffers so sadly and falls so low. Whose turn may it be to-morrow? What weak heart, confident before trial, may not succumb under temptation invincible? Cover the good man who has been vanquished—cover his face and pass on.

For the last half-dozen years of his life, Goldsmith was far removed from the pressure of any ignoble necessity; and in the receipt, indeed, of a pretty large income from the booksellers, his patrons. Had he lived but a few years more, his public fame would have been as great as his private reputation, and he might have enjoyed alive a part of that esteem which his country has ever since paid to the vivid and versatile genius who has touched on almost every subject of literature, and touched nothing that he did not adorn. Except in rare instances, a man is known in our profession, and esteemed as a skilful workman, years before the lucky hit which trebles his usual gains, and stamps him a popular author. In the strength of his age, and the dawn of his reputation, having for backers and friends the most illustrious literary men of his time,[1] fame and

[1] 'Goldsmith told us that he was now busy in writing a Natural History; and that he might have full leisure for it, he had taken lodgings at a farmer's house, near to the six-mile stone on the Edgeware Road, and had carried down his books in two returned post-chaises. He said he believed the farmer's family thought him an odd character, similar to that in which the *Spectator* appeared to his landlady and her children; he was *The Gentleman*. Mr. Mickle, the translator of the *Lusiad*, and I, went to visit him at this place a few days afterwards. He was not at home; but having a curiosity to see his apartment, we went in, and found curious scraps of descriptions of animals scrawled upon the wall with a blacklead pencil.'—BOSWELL. [anno 1772.]

prosperity might have been in store for Goldsmith, had fate so willed; and, at forty-six, had not sudden disease carried him off. I say prosperity rather than competence, for it is probable that no sum could have put order into his affairs or sufficed for his irreclaimable habits of dissipation. It must be remembered that he owed 2,000*l.* when he died. 'Was ever poet,' Johnson asked, 'so trusted before?' As has been the case with many another good fellow of his nation, his life was tracked and his substance wasted by crowds of hungry beggars and lazy dependants. If they came at a lucky time (and be sure they knew his affairs better than he did himself, and watched his pay-day), he gave them of his money: if they begged on empty-purse days he gave them his promissory bills: or he treated them to a tavern where he had credit; or he obliged them with an order upon honest Mr. Filby for coats, for which he paid as long as he could earn, and until the shears of Filby were to cut for him no more. Staggering under a load of debt and labour, tracked by bailiffs and reproachful creditors, running from a hundred poor dependants, whose appealing looks were perhaps the hardest of all pains for him to bear, devising fevered plans for the morrow, new histories, new comedies, all sorts of new literary schemes, flying from all these into seclusion, and out of seclusion into pleasure—at last, at five-and-forty, death seized him and closed his career.[1] I have been many a time in the chambers in the Temple which were his, and passed up the staircase, which Johnson, and Burke, and Reynolds trod to see their friend, their poet, their kind Goldsmith—the stair on

[1] 'When Goldsmith was dying, Dr. Turton said to him, "Your pulse is in greater disorder than it should be, from the degree of fever which you have; is your mind at ease?" Goldsmith answered it was not.'—Dr. Johnson (*in Boswell*). [anno 1777.]

'Chambers, you find, is gone far, and poor Goldsmith is gone much farther. He died of a fever, exasperated, as I believe, by the fear of distress. He had raised money and squandered it, by every artifice of acquisition and folly of expense. But let not his failings be remembered; he was a very great man.'—Dr. Johnson (*in Boswell*, July 5th, 1774).

which the poor women sat weeping bitterly when they heard that the greatest and most generous of all men was dead within the black oak door.[1] Ah, it was a different lot from that for which the poor fellow sighed, when he wrote with heart yearning for home those most charming of all fond verses, in which he fancies he revisits 'Auburn'—

Here, as I take my solitary rounds
Amidst thy tangling walks and ruined grounds,
And, many a year elapsed, return to view
Where once the cottage stood, the hawthorn grew,
Remembrance wakes with all her busy train,
Swells at my breast, and turns the past to pain.

In all my wanderings round this world of care,
In all my griefs—and God has given my share,
I still had hopes, my latest hours to crown,
Amidst these humble bowers to lay me down;
To husband out life's taper at the close,
And keep the flame from wasting by repose;
I still had hopes—for pride attends us still—
Amidst the swains to show my book-learned skill,
Around my fire an evening group to draw,
And tell of all I felt and all I saw;
And, as a hare, whom hounds and horns pursue,
Pants to the place from whence at first she flew—

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[1] 'When Burke was told [of Goldsmith's death] he burst into tears. Reynolds was in his painting-room when the messenger went to him; but at once he laid his pencil aside, which in times of great family distress he had not been known to do, left his painting-room, and did not re-enter it that day. . . .

'The staircase of Brick Court is said to have been filled with mourners, the reverse of domestic; women without a home, without domesticity of any kind, with no friend but him they had come to weep for; outcasts of that great, solitary, wicked city, to whom he had never forgotten to be kind and charitable. And he had domestic mourners, too. His coffin was reopened at the request of Miss Horneck and her sister (such was the regard he was known to have for them) that a lock might be cut from his hair. It was in Mrs. Gwyn's possession when she died, after nearly seventy years.'—FORSTER'S *Goldsmith*. [pp. 688 sqq. (1848).]

I still had hopes, my long vexations past,
Here to return, and die at home at last.

O blest retirement, friend to life's decline!
Retreats from care that never must be mine—
How happy he who crowns in shades like these
A youth of labour with an age of ease;
Who quits a world where strong temptations try,
And, since 'tis hard to combat, learns to fly!
For him no wretches born to work and weep
Explore the mine or tempt the dangerous deep;
No surly porter stands in guilty state
To spurn imploring famine from the gate:
But on he moves to meet his latter end,
Angels around befriending virtue's friend;
Bends to the grave with unperceived decay,
While resignation gently slopes the way;
And, all his prospects brightening to the last,
His heaven commences ere the world be past.

In these verses, I need not say with what melody, with what touching truth, with what exquisite beauty of comparison—as indeed in hundreds more pages of the writings of this honest soul—the whole character of the man is told—his humble confession of faults and weakness; his pleasant little vanity, and desire that his village should admire him; his simple scheme of good in which everybody was to be happy—no beggar was to be refused his dinner—nobody in fact was to work much, and he to be the harmless chief of the Utopia, and the monarch of the Irish Yvetot. He would have told again, and without fear of their failing, those famous jokes[1] which had hung fire in

[1] 'Goldsmith's incessant desire of being conspicuous in company was the occasion of his sometimes appearing to such disadvantage, as one should hardly have supposed possible in a man of his genius. When his literary reputation had risen deservedly high, and his society was much courted, he became very jealous of the extraordinary attention which was everywhere paid to Johnson. One evening, in a circle of wits, he found fault with me for talking of Johnson as entitled to the honour of

London; he would have talked of his great friends of the Club—of my Lord Clare and my Lord Bishop, my

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unquestionable superiority. "Sir," said he, "you are for making a monarchy of what should be a republic."

'He was still more mortified, when, talking in a company with fluent vivacity, and, as he flattered himself, to the admiration of all who were present, a German who sat next him, and perceived Johnson rolling himself as if about to speak, suddenly stopped him, saying, "Stay, stay—Toctor Shonson is going to say something." This was no doubt very provoking, especially to one so irritable as Goldsmith, who frequently mentioned it with strong expressions of indignation.

'It may also be observed that Goldsmith was sometimes content to be treated with an easy familiarity, but upon occasions would be consequential and important. An instance of this occurred in a small particular. Johnson had a way of contracting the names of his friends, as Beauclerk, Beau; Boswell, Bozzy. . . . I remember one day, when Tom Davies was telling that Dr. Johnson said—"We are all in labour for a name to *Goldy's* play," Goldsmith seemed displeased that such a liberty should be taken with his name, and said, "I have often desired him not to call me *Goldy*." ' [BOSWELL, *Life*, anno 1773.]

This is one of several of Boswell's depreciatory mentions of Goldsmith—which may well irritate biographers and admirers—and also those who take that more kindly and more profound view of Boswell's own character, which was opened up by Mr. Carlyle's famous article on his book. No wonder that Mr. Irving calls Boswell an 'incarnation of toadyism'. And the worst of it is, that Johnson himself has suffered from this habit of the Laird of Auchinleck's. People are apt to forget under what Boswellian stimulus the great Doctor uttered many hasty things:—things no more indicative of the nature of the depths of his character than the phosphoric gleaming of the sea, when struck at night, is indicative of radical corruption of nature! In truth, it is clear enough on the whole that both Johnson and Goldsmith *appreciated* each other, and that they mutually knew it. They were, as it were, tripped up and flung against each other, occasionally, by the blundering and silly gambolling of people in company.

Something must be allowed for Boswell's 'rivalry for Johnson's good graces' with Oliver (as Sir Walter Scott has remarked), for Oliver was intimate with the Doctor before his biographer was,—and as we all remember, marched off with him to 'take tea with Mrs. Williams' before Boswell had advanced to that honourable degree of intimacy. But, in truth, Boswell—though he perhaps showed more talent in his delineation of the Doctor than is generally ascribed to him—had not faculty to take

Lord Nugent—sure he knew them intimately, and was hand and glove with some of the best men in town—and he would have spoken of Johnson and of Burke, from Cork, and of Sir Joshua who had painted him—and he would have told wonderful sly stories of Ranelagh and the Pantheon, and the masquerades at Madame Cornelys'; and he would have toasted, with a sigh, the Jessamy Bride—the lovely Mary Horneck.

The figure of that charming young lady forms one of the prettiest recollections of Goldsmith's life. She and her beautiful sister, who married Bunbury, the graceful and humorous amateur artist of those days, when Gillray had but just begun to try his powers, were among the kindest and dearest of Goldsmith's many friends; cheered and pitied him, travelled abroad with him, made him welcome at their home, and gave him many a pleasant holiday. He bought his finest clothes to figure at their country house at Barton—he wrote them droll verses. They loved him, laughed at him, played him tricks and made him happy. He asked for a loan from Garrick, and Garrick kindly supplied him, to enable him to go to Barton—but there were to be no more holidays, and only one brief struggle more for poor Goldsmith—a lock of his hair was taken from the coffin and given to the Jessamy Bride. She lived quite into our time. Hazlitt saw her an old lady, but beautiful still, in Northcote's painting-room, who told the eager critic how proud she always was that Goldsmith had admired her. The younger Colman has left a touching reminiscence of him (vol. i, 110 [1830]).

'I was only five years old,' he says, 'when Goldsmith took me on his knee while he was drinking coffee one evening with my father, and began to play with me, which amiable act I returned, with the ingratitude of a peevish brat, by giving him a very smart slap in the face: it must have been a tingler, for it left the marks

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a fair view of *two* great men at a time. Besides, as Mr. Forster justly remarks, 'he was impatient of Goldsmith from the first hour of their acquaintance.'—[*Goldsmith*, p. 292.]

of my little spiteful paw upon his cheek. This infantile outrage was followed by summary justice, and I was locked up by my indignant father in an adjoining room to undergo solitary imprisonment in the dark. Here I began to howl and scream most abominably, which was no bad step towards liberation, since those who were not inclined to pity me might be likely to set me free for the purpose of abating a nuisance.

'At length a generous friend appeared to extricate me from jeopardy, and that generous friend was no other than the man I had so wantonly molested by assault and battery—it was the tender-hearted Doctor himself, with a lighted candle in his hand, and a smile upon his countenance, which was still partially red from the effects of my petulance. I sulked and sobbed and he fondled and soothed, till I began to brighten. Goldsmith . . . seized the propitious moment of returning good humour, so he put down the candle and began to conjure. He placed three hats, which happened to be in the room, upon the carpet, and a shilling under each. The shillings he told me were England, France, and Spain. "Hey presto cockalorum!" cried the Doctor, and lo, on uncovering the shillings, which had been dispersed, each beneath a separate hat, they were all found congregated under one. I was no politician at five years old, and therefore might not have wondered at the sudden revolution which brought England, France, and Spain all under one crown; but, as I was also no conjurer, it amazed me beyond measure. . . . From that time, whenever the Doctor came to visit my father, "I plucked his gown to share the good man's smile"; a game at romps constantly ensued, and we were always cordial friends and merry playfellows. Our unequal companionship varied somewhat in point of sports as I grew older; but it did not last long: my senior playmate died alas! in his forty-fifth year, some months after I had attained my eleventh. . . . In all the numerous accounts of his virtues and his foibles, his genius and absurdities, his knowledge of nature and his ignorance of the world, his "compassion for another's woe" was

always predominant; and my trivial story of his humouring a froward child weighs but as a feather in the recorded scale of his benevolence.'

Think of him reckless, thriftless, vain if you like—but merciful, gentle, generous, full of love and pity. He passes out of our life, and goes to render his account beyond it. Think of the poor pensioners weeping at his grave; think of the noble spirits that admired and deplored him; think of the righteous pen that wrote his epitaph—and of the wonderful and unanimous response of affection with which the world has paid back the love he gave it. His humour delighting us still: his song fresh and beautiful as when first he charmed with it: his words in all our mouths: his very weaknesses beloved and familiar—his benevolent spirit seems still to smile upon us: to do gentle kindnesses: to succour with sweet charity: to soothe, caress, and forgive: to plead with the fortunate for the unhappy and the poor.

His name is the last in the list of those men of humour who have formed the themes of the discourses which you have heard so kindly. Long before I had ever hoped for such an audience, or dreamed of the possibility of the good fortune which has brought me so many friends, I was at issue with some of my literary brethren upon a point—which they held from tradition I think rather than experience—that our profession was neglected in this country; and that men of letters were ill-received and held in slight esteem. It would hardly be grateful of me now to alter my old opinion that we do meet with goodwill and kindness, with generous helping hands in the time of our necessity, with cordial and friendly recognition. What claim had any one of these of whom I have been speaking, but genius? What return of gratitude, fame, affection, did it not bring to all? What punishment befell those who were unfortunate among them, but that which follows reckless habits and careless lives? For these faults a wit must suffer like the dullest prodigal that ever ran in debt. He must pay the tailor if he wears the coat; his children must go in rags if he spends his money at the tavern; he can't come to London and be

made Lord Chancellor if he stops on the road and gambles away his last shilling at Dublin. And he must pay the social penalty of these follies too, and expect that the world will shun the man of bad habits, that women will avoid the man of loose life, that prudent folks will close their doors as a precaution, and before a demand shall be made on their pockets by the needy prodigal. With what difficulty had any one of these men to contend, save that eternal and mechanical one of want of means and lack of capital, and of which thousands of young lawyers, young doctors, young soldiers and sailors, of inventors, manufacturers, shopkeepers, have to complain? Hearts as brave and resolute as ever beat in the breast of any wit or poet, sicken and break daily in the vain endeavour and unavailing struggle against life's difficulty. Don't we see daily ruined inventors, grey-haired midshipmen, balked heroes, blighted curates, barristers pining a hungry life out in chambers, the attorneys never mounting to their garrets, whilst scores of them are rapping at the door of the successful quack below? If these suffer, who is the author, that he should be exempt? Let us bear our ills with the same constancy with which others endure them, accept our manly part in life, hold our own, and ask no more. I can conceive of no kings or laws causing or curing Goldsmith's improvidence, or Fielding's fatal love of pleasure, or Dick Steele's mania for running races with the constable. You never can outrun that sure-footed officer—not by any swiftness or by dodges devised by any genius, however great; and he carries off the Tatler to the spunging-house, or taps the Citizen of the World on the shoulder as he would any other mortal.

Does society look down on a man because he is an author? I suppose if people want a buffoon they tolerate him only in so far as he is amusing; it can hardly be expected that they should respect him as an equal. Is there to be a guard of honour provided for the author of the last new novel or poem? how long is he to reign, and keep other potentates out of possession? He retires, grumbles, and prints a lamentation that literature is

despised. If Captain A. is left out of Lady B.'s parties he does not state that the army is despised : if Lord C. no longer asks Counsellor D. to dinner, Counsellor D. does not announce that the Bar is insulted. He is not fair to society if he enters it with this suspicion hankering about him ; if he is doubtful about his reception, how hold up his head honestly, and look frankly in the face that world about which he is full of suspicion ? Is he place-hunting, and thinking in his mind that he ought to be made an Ambassador, like Prior, or a Secretary of State, like Addison ? his pretence of equality falls to the ground at once : he is scheming for a patron, not shaking the hand of a friend, when he meets the world. Treat such a man as he deserves ; laugh at his buffoonery, and give him a dinner and a *bon jour ;* laugh at his self-sufficiency and absurd assumptions of superiority, and his equally ludicrous airs of martyrdom : laugh at his flattery and his scheming, and buy it, if it's worth the having. Let the wag have his dinner and the hireling his pay, if you want him, and make a profound bow to the *grand homme incompris*, and the boisterous martyr, and show him the door. The great world, the great aggregate experience, has its good sense, as it has its good humour. It detects a pretender, as it trusts a loyal heart. It is kind in the main : how should it be otherwise than kind, when it is so wise and clear-headed ? To any literary man who says, 'It despises my profession,' I say, with all my might—no, no, no. It may pass over your individual case—how many a brave fellow has failed in the race, and perished unknown in the struggle !—but it treats you as you merit in the main. If you serve it, it is not unthankful ; if you please it, it is pleased ; if you cringe to it, it detects you, and scorns you if you are mean ; it returns your cheerfulness with its good humour ; it deals not ungenerously with your weaknesses ; it recognizes most kindly your merits ; it gives you a fair place and fair play. To any one of those men of whom we have spoken was it in the main ungrateful ? A king might refuse Goldsmith a pension, as a publisher might keep his masterpiece and

the delight of all the world in his desk for two years ; but it was mistake, and not ill will. Noble and illustrious names of Swift, and Pope, and Addison ! dear and honoured memories of Goldsmith and Fielding ! kind friends, teachers, benefactors ! who shall say that our country, which continues to bring you such an unceasing tribute of applause, admiration, love, sympathy, does not do honour to the literary calling in the honour which it bestows upon *you !*

EDITOR'S NOTES

SWIFT

PAGE 1, l. 30. *Rich*, John (1682–1761), has been called 'the Father of Harlequins'. He was for nine years manager at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, and built the first Covent Garden Theatre in 1732.

PAGE 2, l. 21. *Sir William Temple*: (1628–99), a diplomatist and essay-writer, who was for some time Ambassador at the Hague. He was a cautious politician 'whose great maxim was to offend no party'. He is best remembered for his abortive scheme to check the growing power of the Cabinet by a reconstitution of the Privy Council. He several times refused the post of Secretary of State, and for the last eighteen years of his life kept aloof from politics, devoting himself to literature and his garden.

l. 34. *Withers*: more usually Wither, George (1588–1667), a poet and pamphleteer, who is now chiefly remembered for his charming lyric, 'Shall I, wasting in despair.'

PAGE 3, l. 7. *Temple's natural daughter*: this, as Sir Leslie Stephen says, is nothing but 'a gratuitous guess'. The statement was apparently first made by a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November 1757, who also asserted that Temple was likewise the father of Swift. The tragic possibilities involved in this theory have commended it to the lovers of sensation, but it seems entirely unsupported by evidence.

l. 13. *his deanery of St. Patrick*: in Dublin; Swift was installed June 13, 1713.

l. 17. *his party disgraced*: Swift entered political life as a Whig, but in 1710 joined the Tories, who were then in power, and so continued till the death of the queen in 1714, when the Whigs came in and Swift's political influence in London went for ever.

l. 20. *Drapier's Letters*: owing to a shortage of copper coinage in Ireland a patent was given by a shameful piece of jobbery in 1723 to one Wood to make £108,000 worth of copper coins. The Irish Parliament having in vain protested against this, Swift wrote a series of letters against the imposition under the title of 'M. D. drapier [=draper] Dublin'. The effect was instantaneous; people refused to touch the new coinage, and the Government was forced to withdraw Wood's patent.

l. 21. *married Hester Johnson*: few questions have been more debated than this. In any case the marriage was merely a formal

one: the two never lived together or even met after the alleged ceremony without the presence of a third person.

PAGE 4, l. 6. *Irishman*: but see Thackeray's words below, p. 11, l. 19.

l. 21. *the king's birthday*: this should be 'accession'. The unlucky sermon was preached at Cork on August 1, 1725.

l. 25. *the Earl of Orrery*: John Boyle, fifth earl, son of Charles Boyle, fourth earl, famous for his dispute with Bentley over the *Epistles of Phalaris*.

l. 34. *Dr. Wilde's book*: it was entitled *The Closing Years of Dean Swift's Life*, by Sir W. R. W. Wilde, and was first published in 1849 in Dublin.

PAGE 5, l. 24. *his mug of small beer*: this was the regular breakfast beverage of the time. Tea cost about 16*s*. a pound—Thackeray says 30*s*., below, p. 117—and coffee was even dearer.

PAGE 6, l. 27. *Mr. Serjeant Bettesworth*: a member of the Irish Parliament, 'remarkable for his florid elocution', who had incurred Swift's enmity by supporting bills for enforcing residence on the clergy and dividing large benefices, and also by advocating the relaxation of the penal laws against Dissenters. His quarrel with Swift is said to have injured his practice at the Bar to the extent of £1,200 per annum (see Scott's *Life*, p. 415, second edition). Serjeants-at-law were an order of barristers socially superior to King's Counsel; from among them the judges were chosen. No fresh serjeants have been created since 1875, and the order is now extinct.

l. 28. *Thus, at the bar*, &c.: from the verses *On the words Brother Protestants*, &c.

l. 30. *margent*: 'margin', where notes would be written.

l. 31. *Singleton*: Henry, then (1733) Prime Serjeant, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and later Master of the Rolls.

l. 38. *my Hamilton*: the Hon. Hamilton Boyle, Lord Orrery's son, to whom the *Remarks* are addressed in the form of letters.

l. 43. *motions*: this is the reading of the first and second editions; the third and fourth have 'notions'. All four editions appeared in 1752.

PAGE 7, l. 2. *fighting your battles masked*: not one of Swift's works, with the exception of his *Proposal for Correcting . . . the English Tongue*, was published under his own name.

l. 7. *one of his letters*: dated April 5, 1729.

Bolingbroke: Henry St. John (1678–1751) was made Secretary at War in 1704 by the influence of Harley, and a Secretary of State in 1710. Two years later he was created Viscount Bolingbroke. In 1715, being suspected of complicity in a Jacobite plot, he fled to the Continent, and remained in exile for eight years, till he received the royal pardon. But though he returned to England he never re-entered political life.

l. 13. *a blue ribbon*: one of the insignia of a Knight of the Garter.

l. 18. *Mrs. Pilkington*: the aspersion on the lady's accuracy is hardly warranted. True she was not a person of very high character, but, according to *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, 'Thackeray was quite justified in the extensive use he made of her anecdotes . . . for the internal evidence of their authenticity is quite conclusive'. Her *Memoirs . . . written by herself*, appeared in 1748.

PAGE 8, l. 5. *Macheath*: the highwayman hero of Gay's *Beggar's Opera*.

l. 10. *a patent place*: a post held by royal warrant.

l. 12. *the mitre and crosier*: Swift aspired to the bishopric of Hereford, but Queen Anne, whose limited intelligence regarded him as little better than an infidel, refused to give him anything more than the deanery of St. Patrick's.

l. 21. *Jan. 7, 1712–13*: up to 1752 the days from January 1 to March 24 were counted in all legal business as falling within the previous year, as the legal year only began on March 25. Hence for these days it was usual to give the double date, the former indicating the legal, the latter the popular year. The distinction was abolished by the Act of 1751 for reforming the calendar.

l. 24. *Lord Treasurer*: this was Robert Harley (1661–1724), who entered the House of Commons as a Whig, was elected Speaker, and later a Secretary of State. Shortly after this he began to intrigue with the Tories, and in 1711, on being created Earl of Oxford, he received the office of Lord High Treasurer, and took the lead of the Tory party. He was dismissed in 1714, and the following year was impeached of high treason; but after lying two years in the Tower he was acquitted. Like his friend and rival, Bolingbroke, he spent the rest of his life in retirement, devoting himself chiefly to letters.

The Lord High Treasurer was originally President of the Exchequer, his chief business being to provide for the expenses of the Government. In 1715 his office was 'put into commission', i.e. a board was appointed to supersede him; the nominal head of this is the First Lord of the Treasury, who since 1800 has always been the Prime Minister, but the actual head is the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

l. 42. *take up Hurt, the printer*: in the following year Hurt was again taken up for publishing *The British Ambassadress's Speech* to the French king, which Swift calls 'the cursedest libel in verse that ever was seen' (*J. to S.*, March 23, 1712–13). He was tried in June 1713, and sentenced to stand twice in the pillory, to pay a fine of £50, to be imprisoned for two years, and to find sureties for his good behaviour for the rest of his life.

PAGE 9, l. 1. *to point a moral*, &c.: from Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes*, 221.

l. 3. *Ridpath*, George, the editor of the *Flying Post*, a Whig morning paper, which appeared first in 1695. It was published three times a week, and appeared regularly till July 1712, when in consequence of the Stamp Act it combined with the *Medley*. This was a Whig organ, started in 1710, with Addison and Steele as contributors; it was intended, like its short-lived predecessor, *The Whig Examiner*, to give the other side to that put forward in *The Examiner* by Harley, Prior, Atterbury, and, a little later, Swift.

Ridpath was put on his trial for libel in 1713, and found guilty, but sentence was postponed: three months later he forfeited his bail and fled to Scotland, whence he crossed to Holland, remaining there till the accession of George I, when he returned to England.

l. 39. *Guiscard*: a French adventurer who had managed to procure a Government pension of £500, which Harley afterwards reduced to £400. Guiscard, being detected in treasonable correspondence with France, was brought before the Council for examination, when he took the opportunity to gratify his vengeance by stabbing Harley with a pocket-knife. He was assailed in turn by the other members of the Council, and being seized, was carried to Newgate, where he died of his wounds. Harley became the object of much popular sympathy, and received from the queen his title and the office of Lord High Treasurer.

PAGE **10**, l. 5. *condottieri*: [Ital.] 'captains of mercenary soldiers'.

l. 12. *the Railway mania*: in 1846 the English public was possessed by a fury for speculating in railways; no fewer than 272 Acts were passed in twelve months.

l. 32. *Mr. Secretary*: i.e. Henry St. John; see above, note to p. 7, l. 7. In the reign of Henry VIII there were two Secretaries of State; on the union with Scotland in 1708, a third Secretary was appointed. There are now five, who, unlike their predecessors, deal with separate departments, Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, the Colonies, War, and India.

PAGE **11**, l. 7. *Copenhagen*: in 1801 the British fleet, in order to break up the armed neutrality existing between Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, bombarded the batteries of Copenhagen and the Danish fleet.

l. 21. *Grub Street*, now called Milton Street, near Moorgate Street, was the haunt of many publishers' hacks and needy journalists.

l. 22. *Flying-Post and Medley*: see above, note to p. 9, l. 3.

PAGE **12**, l. 5. *tropes and metaphors*: a trope is any turn of speech by which a word, phrase, or sentence is used in a sense other than the literal. Metaphor, therefore, is one form of trope.

l. 43. *Mantua vae*, &c.: Virg. *Ecl.* ix. 28. 'Mantua, alas! too near to hapless Cremona.' After the Civil War Octavian rewarded his soldiers with the territory of Cremona, but this proving insufficient, the neighbouring district of Mantua was drawn on for further spoil. A mantua was a loose gown worn by women in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the word has no connexion with the town. Cremona became noted for violins in the sixteenth century.

PAGE 13, l. 13. *to cut asparagus in the Dutch fashion*: this fact, as Scott says, is recorded by all Swift's biographers, but neither he nor any other has explained how the Dutch method of cultivation differs from ours. It appears that the Dutch heap up the earth round the shoots, allowing only the tip to appear above ground; this, of course, bleaches the asparagus, and gives it, they claim, a finer flavour. The shoots are cut underground by a specially designed knife.

l. 14. *Shene* or Sheen, is near Richmond, and *Moor Park* near Farnham in Surrey.

l. 15. *twenty pounds*, &c.: this rests on the authority of Richardson, who quoted it from the 'Jack Temple' mentioned below, p. 19, l. 42. Sir Leslie Stephen stigmatizes it as 'an untrustworthy report'.

l. 18. *as proud as Lucifer's*: Satan was termed Lucifer before he was driven from heaven for his pride. 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning' (Isa. xiv. 12)—one of the unconscious hexameters of the Authorized Version.

l. 32. *ambrosial*: 'fragrant'; ambrosia was the food of the gods in Greek mythology.

PAGE 14, l. 24. *The Epicureans*: the followers of the Greek philosopher Epicurus (342–270 B.C.), who taught that pleasure was the highest good—a by no means ignoble doctrine if the term 'pleasure' is rightly construed.

l. 33. *the Molinists*: followers of Miguel de Molinos, a Spanish priest (d. 1697), who taught that man's first duty was to give himself up to the contemplation and love of God, prayer and other devotional exercises being unnecessary. His doctrines were condemned by the Pope, who kept him in prison till he died.

PAGE 15, l. 1. *the ambassador*: Temple was British Resident at Brussels when he brought about the Triple Alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden (1668). After that he was Ambassador at the Hague, first for two years, and, after an interval, for five.

l. 5. *the Ciceronian majesty*: among Latin prose authors Cicero (d. 43 B.C.) reigns supreme for style.

l. 13. *Dorothea, his wife*: she had been Dorothy Osborne, daughter of Sir Peter Osborne, an ardent royalist. As Temple's

father was a member of the Long Parliament, there was a good deal of opposition to the match from both families, and the lovers had to submit to a seven years' separation. The world is, however, the richer for the delightful letters written by Dorothy to Temple during that period. We hear little of her after her marriage; she died five years before her husband.

l. 15. *Mild Dorothea*, &c.: from *Verses occasioned by Sir William Temple's late illness and recovery*, written in 1693.

l. 17. *Dorinda*: this was Martha, Lady Gifford, who being left a widow within a month of her marriage, lived with the Temples, and seems to have been a more important personage in the family than Lady Temple. She accompanied her brother on many of his diplomatic journeys.

l. 25. *a Persian word*: despite the advance in the science of etymology it still 'seems to have been a Persian word' which came into our language through the Greek.

l. 27. *Strabo*: an historian and geographer who wrote about the beginning of the Christian era, and compiled a Geography of the World in seventeen books. He wrote in Greek, but a Latin version appeared in print before the original. The passage quoted by Temple is from Book XVI, chap. ii, § 41. The Latin translation appears to be that of Xylander, published at Basel in 1571.

l. 28. *Ibi est*, &c.: 'There is a palm-grove there, wherein are several other garden trees; it is a fruitful spot with a quantity of palm trees, and well-watered throughout for the distance of a hundred furlongs. There is a palace there and a park of Balsam.'

PAGE 16, l. 13. *moxa*: the down of a plant called mugwort, which used to be burnt over the skin in order to produce a blister.

PAGE 17, l. 6. *gentleman*: 'valet'.

l. 7. *Teague*: 'an Irishman'; the anglicized spelling of the Irish name Tadhg, which in one of its various pronunciations, rimes with 'league'.

l. 24. *plates-bandes*: 'borders of flowers'.

Diogenes Laertius: i.e. Diogenes, born at Laerte in Asia Minor; he lived about A.D. 200, and wrote the lives of the Greek philosophers; his work is the foundation of most modern histories of philosophy; it is packed with anecdotes, but very little reliance can be placed on their accuracy.

l. 25. *Semiramis*: a queen of Assyria, who is supposed to have reigned about 2000 B.C. She is credited with having built —or at least greatly enlarged—Babylon.

gardens of the Hesperides: the four daughters of Night dwelt in a beautiful garden on the western verge of the world, where with the sufficient aid of a dragon they guarded the golden apples which had been given to Hera the Queen of Heaven on her wedding-day.

l. 26. *Maecenas*: chief minister of Augustus, and friend and patron of Horace and Virgil. He died 8 B.C.

l. 28. *Pythagoras's precept*: Pythagoras, born about 580 B.C., founded a religious brotherhood, admission to which was only granted after five years of silence. The brothers of the order were pledged to abstain from meat, and were also forbidden to eat beans. No one has yet explained this latter prohibition; there is not even agreement as to whether it is to be interpreted literally or as a metaphor. Those who adopt Sir William Temple's explanation point to the fact that votes were given at Romo by means of pebbles.

PAGE 18, l. 5. *Pope says nobly*: see Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 158, in Singer's edition (1820): 'they are quite azure as the heavens, and there 's a very uncommon archness in them.'

l. 15. *vertigo*: 'dizziness'. There is a horrible modern tendency—even among medical men—to lengthen the 'i' in this word.

l. 25. *the letter to Temple*: dated October 6, 1694.

PAGE 19, l. 3. *Bishop Kennet*: White Kennett was Bishop of Peterborough from 1718 till his death in 1728; Scott in his *Life* printed this extract from the bishop's Diary, where it appears under the year 1713. The Diary, which is in manuscript, is in the British Museum (see Scott's *Life*, p. 137, ed. of 1824).

l. 32. *a young fellow*: see above, note to p. 10, l. 32.

l. 35. *makes*: this must mean in his published writings and correspondence, for he had been dead for twelve years. He never was Secretary of State, though the post was offered him on several occasions.

PAGE 20, l. 1. *F. Gwynne*: this should be Francis Gwyn (? 1648–1734). He was for some time Commissioner of the Board of Trade, and afterwards Secretary at War.

l. 35. *Tom Davies*: a bookseller and actor who introduced Boswell to Johnson. In 1784 he published his *Dramatic Miscellanies*, from which extracts appear below on pp. 48, 49.

PAGE 21, l. 15. *the Tale of a Tub*: a satire directed against the Church of Rome, represented in the story by Peter, and the Nonconformists, represented by Jack; the Church of England, which Swift upheld, was personified as Martin; the names Jack and Martin being taken from Calvin and Luther. The queen could not believe—any more than the great majority of people can nowadays—that a writer was in earnest unless he was also serious.

PAGE 22, l. 4. *the wildest of the wits about town*: this extraordinary description of the gentle creature may be compared with what Thackeray says of him below, p. 132. Here in his anxiety to make a point he besmirches Gay in order to heighten the indecency of Swift's proposal. But Thackeray's sense of

humour must for once have deserted him: the words of which he complains come at the end of a letter dated January 8, 1722–3; Swift writes, 'take care of your health and money; be less modest [this to 'the wildest of the wits about town'!] and more active; or else turn parson and get a bishopric here.' It is hardly possible for an unprejudiced reader to take this seriously, and if the Archbishop of Cashell's view of episcopal duties was shared by the other bishops, one cannot believe that Gay would have brought any special discredit on the Bench.

l. 7. *advised him to husband his shillings*: see, for instance, the extract given on p. 135 below.

l. 26. *translated*: 'transferred to another see'.

Page 23, l. 18. *wooden shoes*: a term specially applied to the French from the use of sabots by the poorer classes in France.

l. 28. *Robin*: this must be Robert Blakeley, who had been the Dean's butler.

Page 24, l. 5. *what a genius I had*: it is said that Thackeray used almost the same words when reading in after-years his own account of Colonel Newcome's death.

l. 27. *put his apostasy out to hire*: this is a curious phrase to describe the action of one who takes orders without having any decided convictions. Swift's 'apostasy' presumably consisted in his sceptical attitude towards the Church; to swallow one's doubts for the sake of one's living is not the same as 'putting them out to hire'.

Page 25, l. 4. *Abudah*: a merchant in Ridley's *Tales of the Genii*, who was haunted each night by an old hag till at last he learnt to fear God and keep His commandments.

l. 16. *saeva indignatio*: 'fierce resentment', from Swift's epitaph written by himself: '. . . Ubi saeva indignatio | Ulterius cor lacerare nequit.' It is engraved on a slab of black marble on the wall of St. Patrick's.

l. 28. *Lilliputian island*: in Gulliver's first voyage, the one to the island of Lilliput, Swift intended a satire on England and the court of George I.

l. 30. *Samson with a bone*: see Judges xv. 15.

Page 26, l. 9. *modest proposal*: it is perfectly true that the suggestion is revolting; Swift works it out remorselessly with a wealth of detail which almost sickens the reader. But one need not, for all that, accept Thackeray's view of the motive at the back of the horrid picture. Swift's was the quite arguable proposition that it is better for children to be eaten than to be forced into a life of misery, and any one who reads the history of child labour in the factories—though that, of course, was not what Swift was thinking of—will hardly dissent.

Page 27, l. 5. *roasting*: 'making game of'.

l. 8. *On naît rôtisseur*: it is not in the *Almanach des Gour-*

mands, which was published in Paris, 1805–12, that this aphorism comes, but in Brillat-Savarin's *Physiologie du Goût*: 'On devient cuisinier, mais on naît rôtisseur' ('The art of cooking may be learnt, that of roasting is innate'), Aphor. xv.

l. 15. *amongst his favourite horses*: i. e. in Gulliver's fourth voyage, when he visited the country of the Houyhnhnms (pronounced by common consent 'Hooinnims'). In this Swift's pessimism reaches its lowest depths, and his satire is directed not against any special country or individuals, but against the whole human race, which he depicts as in every way inferior to animals.

l. 31. *the Royal Sovereign*: a ship of 106 guns, one of the largest of her time, launched in 1637 and burnt at Chatham in 1696.

Brobdingnag: in this, Gulliver's second voyage, Swift satirizes the political, legal, and social systems of Europe generally, and in particular of England.

l. 34. *the Emperor of Lilliput's features*, &c.: from Part I, chap. ii.

PAGE 28, l. 1. *an Austrian lip*: the House of Hapsburg are noted for a thick under-lip.

l. 9. *Mr. Macaulay has quoted*: in his *Essay on Addison* Macaulay quotes four lines from Addison's Latin poem on the Battle of the Cranes and the Pygmies, but there is no mention of a nail in the passage. Addison merely says the king of the Pygmies 'overtops all others with his giant stature and rises to the height of half an ell' (mediamque exsurgit in ulnam). Macaulay seems to have read it as 'mediumque exsurgit in unguem', and Thackeray blindly follows him.

l. 12. *the mast of some tall amiral*: *Par. Lost*, i. 293; reading 'great' for 'tall'.

l. 27. *the unpronounceable country*: that of the Houyhnhnms.

PAGE 29, l. 38. *meers*: 'boundaries'. It is also spelt 'mear' and 'mere'.

PAGE 32, l. 11. *A remarkable story*: see Scott's *Life*, § v (vol. i, p. 234); he says Swift rushed away 'with a countenance of distraction'—not as Thackeray quotes it.

Delany: this is the Dr. Patrick Delany, Dean of Down, whose comments on Lord Orrery's book are mentioned above, p. 4, l. 32.

l. 23. *Drapier Bickerstaff*: for the former of these names, see above, note to p. 3, l. 20. The name Isaac Bickerstaff was adopted by Swift in his pamphlet against Partridge the Almanac-maker. Two years later Steele took the same pseudonym for his *Tatler*.

l. 26. *writing over to Bolingbroke*: under the date March 21, 1728–9.

PAGE 33, l. 26. *that little episodical aberration*: 'that temporary straying of his affections from Stella.'

PAGE 34, l. 8. *course of that true love*, &c.: 'The course of true love never did run smooth,' *Mid. Night's Dream*, I. i. 134.

l. 30. *Champollion*, Jean François, a celebrated French Orientalist, who in 1822 discovered the key to the Egyptian hieroglyphics.

PAGE 35, l. 21. *When on my sickly couch*, &c.: from the verses *To Stella, visiting me in my sickness*, 1720.

l. 28. *more than me*: Swift's grammar is often irregular; but this particular blunder was—and is—common. Cf. Prior's line below, p. 127, l. 32, 'As he was a poet sublimer than me.'

l. 36. After this line Thackeray has omitted four, which have such a touch of humorous pathos that they may well be quoted:—

> I see her taste each nauseous draught,
> And so obligingly am caught;
> I bless the hand from whence they came,
> Nor dare distort my face for shame.

PAGE 36, l. 12. *Bury Street*: out of Jermyn Street, near St. James's Street.

made love to him: in fairness to Vanessa it should be added that she had no idea Swift was married to Stella; she never made the least advances to him after hearing that he had a wife, but grief at having lost him and at Swift's anger killed her in a few months. Thackeray's extravagant admiration for Stella has made him less than just to her rival.

l. 34. *Mrs. Johnson*: it was then the custom to call any girl over sixteen 'Mistress' or 'Madam'.

PAGE 37, l. 22. *previsions*: 'presentiments'.

PAGE 38, l. 6. *doesn't* amavi *come after* amo *and* amas? i.e. in life as in language the present is changed into the past.

l. 8. *Cadenus's own poem*: wherein Swift describes the advances Vanessa made to him and the way in which he met them. Cadenus is a transposition of Decanus, the Latin for 'Dean'.

l. 15. *settled in London in 1709*: according to *Dict. Nat. Biog.* they were already living there in 1708.

PAGE 39, l. 12. *Ariadne* was beloved by Theseus, who afterwards abandoned her on the island of Naxos. Unlike Vanessa, she did not die of grief, but was found by Dionysus, and fell in love with him.

PAGE 41, l. 2. *about a broomstick*: to ridicule the sententiousness and inflated style of the Hon. Robert Boyle's *Occasional Reflections*, Swift wrote *A Meditation upon a Broomstick*; this he mischievously read to Lady Berkeley as one of Boyle's productions, of which she was a great admirer. It does not say much for the lady's intelligence that she took the *Meditation* seriously, and expressed great admiration for the author; but it is not a little to her credit that when, later on in the day, the hoax

was exposed, she joined in the laugh against herself, and quite forgave Swift. The Hon. Robert Boyle was the great-grand-uncle of the Earl of Orrery mentioned above, p. 4, l. 25.

l. 5. *In a note in his biography*: Scott's *Life*, vol. i, p. 239 (1824).

PAGE 42, l. 1. *Sheridan*: see above, p. 4, l. 20.

l. 2. *slunk away from . . . Pope*: the estrangement was wholly of Pope's contriving; his difference with Swift about the publication of his—Pope's—letters is one of the most discreditable and treacherous incidents in his life.

l. 10. *none greater or so gloomy*: in the first edition this runs, 'none, I think, however, so great or so gloomy.' Thackeray no doubt made the change from the recollection that in the Fourth Lecture he had spoken of Pope's as 'the greatest name on our list'.

CONGREVE AND ADDISON

PAGE 43, l. 4. *existed*: and still exists.

l. 11. *a great nobleman's nominee*: before the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 and the introduction of the ballot, there were many boroughs in England which were practically in the gift of the landowner, there being few voters, and those all willing to vote as they were ordered. An extreme instance was that of Old Sarum, which returned two members, though it had neither house nor inhabitant.

l. 16. *Mirabeau*: Gabriel Honoré, Comte de Mirabeau, was the greatest orator of the French Revolution. He died in 1791, before the Reign of Terror.

l. 24. *in the dust behind the fervid wheels*: an echo of Horace, *Od.* I. i. 3:—

> Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
> Collegisse iuvat, metaque fervidis
> Evitata rotis.

l. 29. *boxing the watch*: upsetting a watchman's sentry-box with the watchman inside was a favourite amusement of the gilded youth of the time.

PAGE 44, l. 1. *Prince Eugene*: a celebrated Austrian general who shared with Marlborough the victory over the French at Blenheim (1704).

l. 7. *Busby*, Richard (1606–95), was head master of Westminster for over fifty years. He is traditionally regarded—without much authority—as a stern wielder of the rod. It is said that he apologized to Charles II for not uncovering in his presence, as it would not do to let his boys know that any one was greater than himself. The king, with his usual urbanity, fully admitted the plea, and offered to remove his own hat. It

will be noted that Dr. Busby's rod bore fruit; Aaron's (Num. xvii. 8) had merely blossomed.

l. 9. *Tickell*, Thomas (1686–1740), was a friend of Addison's, who, when Secretary of State, made Tickell his under-secretary. For his translation of Book I of the *Iliad* see below, p. 155. He published an edition of Addison's works in 1721, to which he prefixed a beautiful elegy of his own.

l. 10. *John Dennis* (1657–1734), a cross-grained critic with a bitter tongue to whom constant reference is made in these *Lectures*. He was at war with all the writers of his time, and was severely castigated by Pope in the *Dunciad*. For Steele's picture of him see below, p. 120, l. 12 sqq.

l. 13. *all* (*save one*): Pope, as a Papist, was not eligible for any Government post.

l. 20. *Commissioner of Appeals*: in the Excise.

l. 22. *Lord of Trade*: the office is now extinct, its duties being performed by the Board of Trade.

l. 26. *Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians*: otherwise Supervisor of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

l. 28. *Forfeited Estates*: i. e. those confiscated for their owners' complicity in the Jacobite rising of 1715.

l. 37. *Pipe-office*: see below, p. 46, l. 21 sqq.

Page **45**, l. 5. *Accourez . . .* &c.: from the *Ode sur la prise de Namur*. It is printed at length in the Poems of Prior, who wrote a reply to it.

l. 6. *Permesse*: Permessus was a stream rising in Mount Helicon and sacred to the Muses, who are often called 'nymphes de Permesse' in French poetry. In the first edition of the *Lectures* 'Parnasse' is printed; the second restores the right reading.

l. 10. *foundation exercises*: 'compositions in a scholarship examination'.

l. 12. *remain*: in the first edition 'are left'.

l. 22. *Pindaric Odes*: Pindar was the greatest lyric poet of the Greeks; he lived at Thebes, dying there in 443 B.C. The only poems of his which have come down to us entire are the triumphal odes written to celebrate the victors in the Olympian and other games. From the erroneous idea that the metre in these was based on no rules, it became the fashion to call any irregular ode 'Pindaric'.

l. 23. *Johnson's Poets*: the *Lives of the Poets*, which is usually considered Johnson's greatest work, appeared first in 1779–80 as Prefaces to a new edition of the poets from Cowley downwards.

l. 32. *instantly*: *The Old Bachelor* appeared in January, 1692–3; Montague gave Congreve his Hackney Coach Commissionership in July 1695.

Page **46**, l. 6. *those*: in the first edition 'them'.

Page **47**, l. 4. *the Piazza*: an arcade on the north and east sides of Covent Garden market; once a fashionable promenade.

the Mall: the promenade in St. James's Park.

l. 9. *writes of him*: in the Dedication to his verse translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

l. 14. *his twelfth epistle*: Dryden's *Epistles* are not numbered, and, if they are arranged in chronological order, the one to Congreve is the eleventh.

PAGE 48, l. 6. *Will's*: a famous coffee-house at the corner of Bow Street and Russell Street. It was called after its landlord, William Urwin, and was much frequented by men of letters. Here Dryden held his court when he presided over the Republic of Letters. See below, p. 151.

l. 9. *Voltaire went to wait upon him*: see below, p. 61.

l. 13. *Timon*: a misanthrope who lived at Athens about 400 B. C.; he is chiefly known through Shakespeare's play, but he is mentioned by Aristophanes and other Greek comedians.

l. 19. *Bracegirdle*, Anne, born about 1663, was the most famous actress of her day. 'It was said of her that in the crowded theatre she had as many lovers as she had male admirers' (Macaulay). But whether from indifference or virtue she remained obdurate to them all. For further incidents in her life, see below, p. 86.

l. 38. *the young Duchess of Marlborough*: this was the second duchess, wife of Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, who succeeded to the dukedom in 1733 as grandson of John Churchill, first duke. Lady Diana was her elder daughter.

PAGE 49, l. 12. *Nell Gwynn*: an actress of Charles II's time and mistress of the King, who had two children by her. 'Don't let poor Nellie starve!' was almost his last remark on his death-bed. Nell Gwynn's footman, after the fight, admitted the truth of the other footman's charge, but stoutly disputed his right to make it, how true soever—a distinction which may be recommended to the notice of scandalmongers in general.

l. 15. *Jeremy Collier*: a nonjuring clergyman (1650–1726), who suffered imprisonment for his adherence to James II. His *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, which was published in 1698, had a considerable effect in purifying the drama.

PAGE 50, l. 10. *Laïs*: a beautiful courtesan of Corinth who was living at the time of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B. C.).

l. 17. *kind and frank*: the 'and' is omitted in the first edition.

PAGE 51, l. 14. *the Poet's house*: the House of the Tragic Poet was excavated in 1824; it was noted for the number and beauty of its paintings, now in the Naples Museum. In the first edition Thackeray wrote 'Sallust's house', and on p. 52, l. 8, 'Sallust' instead of 'the Poet'.

l. 18. *cicerone*: [Ital.] 'guide'. The term is derived from the

Roman orator, guides to places of interest being too often persons of torrential eloquence.

l. 38. *cavalier seul*: the man dancing alone for the moment, having quitted his partner, as is done in one figure of the Lancers.

PAGE 52, l. 11. *gaunt disciples*: Pompeii was destroyed by an eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79; St. Paul is said to have come to Rome in 61, when Nero was emperor. It is therefore quite possible that Christianity was preached at Pompeii before its destruction. Professor Regel strangely takes the phrase to refer to the Stoics, whose doctrine was not new, had not lately come from Asia, and did not aim at the overthrow of Paganism.

l. 18. *masons*: the Freemasons profess to trace back their Order to the building of Solomon's temple. One historian of their craft even claims Moses as a Grand Master of the Order.

l. 22. *gather roses*: from Herrick's poem:—

Gather ye roses while ye may;
Old Time is still a-flying.

l. 25. *treillage*: a light framework of posts and rails on which plants are trained.

l. 40. *the lawyer*: in the first edition 'his lawyer'.

PAGE 53, l. 14. *segreto per esser felice*: 'secret for happiness', a well-known song in Donizetti's opera, *Lucrezia Borgia*.

l. 16. *Falernian*: the second of the fine wines of ancient Italy; it came from the ager Falernus in Campania, between Naples and Rome.

l. 28. *Mirabel*: a witty man of the world in Congreve's *Way of the World*. Congreve is supposed to have aimed at portraying his own character in the part.

l. 29. *Belmour*: the hero in Congreve's *Old Bachelor*.

l. 30. *Scapin*: a roguish valet in Molière's *Fourberies de Scapin*.

Frontin: a valet of the old French comedy who appears in the plays of Regnard, Le Sage, and other followers of Molière.

l. 37. *merciless in old age*: this is the reading of all the editions, but it obviously should be 'on'.

PAGE 54, l. 9. *Millamant*: Thackeray is not very happy in his choice of a name here, for Millamant is the name of a brilliant young lady in *The Way of the World* (see above, p. 49, l. 32).

l. 11. *Doricourt*: a man of the world in Mrs. Cowley's *Belle's Stratagem*.

PAGE 55, l. 5. *the horn'd herd*: a husband whose wife was unfaithful was said, for some obscure reason, 'to wear horns'; the phrase occurs several times in Shakespeare, and is found in many other European languages in the same sense. The men of fashion of the West End looked on the wives of the citizens as 'fair game': D'Urfey (1719) speaks of 'The horned herd within yon city wall'.

l. 8. *cropt*: 'with close-cropped hair'.

l. 22. *Medea's kettle*: the cauldron wherein by magic spells that great sorceress restored the youth of an aged ram.

l. 23. *Atlas*: the giant who bore the heavens on his shoulders.

l. 24. *Taliacotius*: the Latin form of Tagliacozzi, a famous Venetian surgeon of the sixteenth century.

l. 27. *pigeons*: killed and cut open and placed at a sick person's feet to bring warmth into them.

l. 45. *Endymion*: a beautiful youth who was kissed by Selene (the Moon) as he lay asleep on Mount Latmos in Asia Minor.

l. 47. *Hymen*: the god of marriage.

PAGE 56, l. 5. *Argus*: the hundred-eyed guardian of Io; after Hermes slew him Juno put his eyes into the tail of her favourite bird the peacock.

PAGE 57, l. 5. *a Mrs. Nickleby*: an exceedingly stupid and very talkative lady who prided herself on her great powers of penetration. Dickens is said to have drawn her from his mother, who—all unconscious of the resemblance—declared Mrs. Nickleby to be quite an unreal character.

PAGE 58, l. 7. *Richelieu*: Louis François, Duc de Richelieu (1696-1788), grand-nephew of the Cardinal and a notorious libertine.

l. 12. *Lerida*: Antoine (III), Duc de Gramont, led an assault on Lerida, in the north-east of Spain, in 1647. The town was also taken by storm by the French in 1707, and again in 1810, but I cannot find that a Gramont was present on either occasion.

l. 16. *Cease, cease to ask her name*: the reader has no need to ask it, as the piece is headed 'Written at Tunbridge Wells on Miss Temple'.

l. 19. *Shall only sounded be*: the 'only', as so often happens in poetry and, unhappily, elsewhere, is misplaced. It qualifies 'fame', not 'sounded'.

l. 39. *the languor of convalescence*: Jeremy Collier's remark on hearing this is too good to be omitted: 'What his disease was', said the eminent divine, 'I am not to enquire; but it must be a very ill one to be worse than the remedy.'

PAGE 59, l. 6. *his*: i.e. Prometheus.

l. 28. *that which in herself she prizes*: i.e. her skill in coquetry.

PAGE 60, l. 26. *gives Sabina the pas*: 'yields precedence to her'.

l. 32. *Spring Garden*, at the east end of the Mall in St. James's Park, was called after a fountain erected in the time of James I, which was so contrived as to sprinkle the pedestrian who trod on a concealed lever.

l. 34. *Southerne*, or Southern, Thomas (1660–1746), a popular playwright of the day, whose work showed neither wit nor imagination.

PAGE 61, l. 22. *it does not appear in the text of the same Letters*: the omitted passage, which appears in the first four editions (the two of 1734, the one of 1735, and the first of 1739), was suppressed in the second edition of 1739 and in all subsequent editions up to that of 1784. Other passages in the *Lettres sur les Anglais* which treated of personal matters were omitted by the author in his later editions, in order to bring the Letters more in line with his other philosophical writings. The omitted passage runs as follows:—

'Il était infirme et presque mourant quand je l'ai connu; il avait un défaut, c'était de ne pas assez estimer son premier métier d'auteur, qui avait fait sa réputation et sa fortune. Il me parlait de ses ouvrages comme de bagatelles au-dessous de lui, et me dit à la première conversation de ne le voir que sur le pied d'un gentilhomme qui vivait très-uniment; je lui répondis que s'il avait eu le malheur de n'être qu'un gentilhomme comme un autre je ne le serais jamais venu voir, et je fus très-choqué de cette vanité si mal placée.'

PAGE 62, l. 27. *Dryden wrote to him*: in the Epistle 'To my dear friend Mr. Congreve', which is also quoted above, p. 47, l. 17 sqq.

l. 41. *Be kind to my remains*: Congreve discharged his friend's commands by bringing out an edition of his plays in 1718.

PAGE 63, l. 13. *article in the Edinburgh Review*: written by Macaulay; it appeared in July 1843 as a review of Miss Aikin's *Life of Addison*, published in the same year.

l. 18. *Shadwell*, Thomas (? 1642–92), a writer of comedies, succeeded Dryden as Poet Laureate when the latter retired in 1688. He was at daggers drawn with Dryden, who assails him with more bitterness than justice as MacFlecknoe. Rochester, who was certainly no bad judge of wit, said of Shadwell that 'if he had burnt all he wrote and printed all he spoke, he would have had more wit and humour than any other poet'.

Higgons, Bevil (1670–1735), was the author of a History of England, some poems, and a still-born tragedy.

l. 25. *Well-dressed barbarians*, &c.: from Steele's Commendatory Verses on *The Way of the World*. It is in the same piece that he praises *Pastora*.

PAGE 65, l. 7. *Mr. Pinkethman*: 'The petulancy of a peevish old Fellow, who loves and hates he knows not why, is very excellently performed by the Ingenious Mr. William Penkethman in *The Fop's Fortune*' (*Spectator*, No. 370, which, however, is by Steele).

l. 8. *Mr. Doggett* played the countryman in a play of his own, entitled *The Country Wake* (*Spectator*, No. 502, which also is by Steele).

l. 10. *Don Saltero*: a barber-dentist, whose real name was

Salter, collector of curiosities and keeper of a coffee-house in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. See the second part of *Tatler*, No. 34; this again is Steele's. In *Peregrine Pickle* (chap. lxvi) Pallet exclaims, *à propos* of a private museum at Rotterdam, 'I would not give one corner of Saltero's coffeehouse at Chelsea for all the trash he hath shown'.

PAGE 66, l. 6. *Queen's College*: after a few months he migrated to Magdalen, where he had gained a Demyship.

l. 13. *Lyaeus*: lit. 'the Relaxer', a surname of Bacchus, used poetically for wine.

the Collection: in vol. ii of *Musarum Anglicanarum Analecta* (1698) there are eight pieces of Latin verse by Addison. There is nothing of his in vol. i, which appeared six years earlier.

l. 14. *the Peace of Ryswick* (1697) ended the war between France on the one side, and England, the Netherlands, and Spain on the other; by it France abandoned the cause of the Stuarts.

l. 15. *Montague*, Charles, afterwards Earl of Halifax, was at this time Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Whig leader in the Commons; it was through Congreve that Addison became acquainted with him.

l. 20. *his pension was unpaid*: he had only received it for one year. The main source of his income was his Oxford Fellowship, which he held from 1698 till 1711.

l. 21. *Mandeville*, Bernard (1670–1733), a Dutch physician who practised in London. His best known work is *The Fable of the Bees*, wherein he asserts that 'private vices are public benefits', and bases all virtuous action on self-interest.

l. 26. *Jacob Tonson* (1656–1736), the most famous bookseller (i.e. publisher) of his day; he brought out the works of Dryden and Pope, and is frequently mentioned in the *Lectures*.

l. 37. *his masters*: sc. in French, which he had gone to Blois to learn.

PAGE 67, l. 3. *Boileau*, Nicholas (1636–1711), a famous French critic and satirist who profoundly influenced French style for more than a hundred years.

l. 13. *one of the most famous scholars*: Thackeray is certainly ante-dating and perhaps exaggerating Addison's reputation, which in 1702 rested solely on his Latin verses.

l. 20. *congées*: this curious form is a half-way spelling between the English 'congee', which appears before 1600, and the French *congé* which has now replaced it, and is generally printed in italics. Thackeray was not consistent in his use of the word: in *Vanity Fair* (1848) he has *congé*; in *Esmond* (1852) congée (in roman type).

PAGE 68, l. 23. *Crambo*: in this game—too intellectual for an age devoted to bridge and jig-saw puzzles—one player began by giving a word or line of verse; the rest had then to follow

with another which rimed with it. Addison's head must have been very bad for 'sumner' not to occur to him.

PAGE 69, l. 6. *Swift describes him*: 'I dined with Mr. Addison and Dick Stuart, . . . a treat of Addison's. They were half fuddled, but not I; for I mixed water with my wine and left them together between nine and ten.'—*Journal to Stella*, October 31, 1710.

PAGE 70, l. 5. *His book of Travels*: this was only published in 1705, and was so far from being a failure that four or five times its price had to be given for a copy before a second edition appeared in 1718.

his Dialogues on Medals: this was a posthumous publication.

l. 8. *Statius* (A. D. 45–96) was Court poet to the Emperor Domitian.

l. 11. *Johnson rather chuckles*: Johnson, it is true, makes it clear that he had no great love or admiration for Addison, but on the present occasion he merely uses the words given in the footnote; they hardly amount to 'chuckling'.

l. 15. *Mr. Boyle*: see below, note to p. 147, l. 17.

PAGE 71, l. 7. *Such as of late*, &c.: on November 26 and 27, 1703, occurred the most terrible storm that has ever been recorded in this country; twelve men-of-war with 1,800 on board were lost, thousands of persons were drowned in various parts of the country; in Kent alone it was estimated that 17,000 trees were uprooted, and whole herds of cattle and sheep were killed. It was in this storm that the first Eddystone lighthouse was destroyed, together with its designer.

l. 11. *That simile*: Johnson objects that the comparison of Marlborough to an angel is not a simile; for the essence of a simile is the discovery of a likeness in things essentially different, and Marlborough has been described as acting all through in the same way as the angel; a mere shifting of personality is not a simile. With this criticism Macaulay agrees.

l. 13. *that good angel flew off with Mr. Addison*: the tale that Addison owed his preferment to *The Campaign* rests on the authority of Budgell, who gave it to the world a quarter of a century later. Sir Leslie Stephen (in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*) looks on the tale as quite improbable and inconsistent with Godolphin's character, who was more interested in racehorses than in poetry.

l. 15. *providentially promoted*: i. e. to heaven. John Locke (1632–1704) is best known for his *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, which attacks the theory of innate ideas. Besides his Commissionership Locke was for some time Secretary to the Council of Trade.

l. 18. *angel visits*: 'Like angel-visits, few and far between' (Campbell, *Pleasures of Hope*, ii. 375).

l 30. *King of the Romans*: the title borne by the heir of the

Emperor. The Holy Roman Empire was at this time vested in the House of Austria, which held it till the Empire was dissolved in 1806.

PAGE 72, l. 9. *Swift has left a description*: it was a rehearsal on the morning of April 6, 1713, that Swift attended, and not the first-night performance. See *Journal to Stella* of that date. The first performance took place on April 17; its success is described by Pope in the letter given in the footnote. Steele, who had packed the house, gave a glowing account of the performance in the *Guardian* of the following day (No. 33), and returned to the subject in Nos. 43 and 59.

l. 25. *what the author once said of another*: or rather of others, for the word 'him' in the second line should be 'them', i.e. the Queen's favourites. See *The Campaign*, 45–6.

l. 37. *against a perpetual dictator*: this was, of course, a hit at Marlborough.

l. 40. *Garth*, Sir Samuel (1661–1719), physician and poet, was the author of *The Dispensary*. See below, p. 158, l. 41.

PAGE 73, l. 3. *save from John Dennis*: for Pope's rejoinder to his attack on Addison see below, p. 153, l. 10. According to Dennis's own account—which is accepted by Mr. Courthope—Dennis's remarks on *Cato* were prompted by Pope, that he might avenge himself for Dennis's previous criticisms on himself by a savage reply. See Dennis's *Remarks upon . . . the Dunciad*, p. 41 (1729).

l. 6. *Divus*: 'divine'; this title was regularly accorded to deceased Roman emperors, which makes it a questionable compliment to apply it to a living writer.

l. 18. *splendid but dismal union*: Mr. Aitken in his *Life of Steele* (1889) says, 'There is no evidence in favour of the tradition that the union was not a happy one, and there is a good deal to be said on the other side' (vol. ii, p. 107).

l. 37. *Rowe's ballad of The Despairing Shepherd*: Rowe's ballad was called *Colin's Complaint*, as is mentioned in the footnote to the next page. *The Despairing Shepherd* is a poem by Prior.

PAGE 74, l. 4. *an Examiner*: the *Whig Examiner*, of which there were only five numbers, appeared in September and October 1710; the first number of the *Guardian*, which ran to 176 numbers, appeared in March 1713; the *Tatler* ran from April 1709 to January 1710–11, and was succeeded by the *Spectator*, which lasted from March 1710–11 to December 1712; it was revived in June 1714, and lived till the end of that year. Addison is credited with 51 numbers of the *Guardian*; 42 of the *Tatler* are his, and 36 others were written by him in conjunction with Steele; about half the numbers of the *Spectator* are Addison's.

l. 14. *a literary Jeffreys*: the ruffianly judge who punished those implicated in Monmouth's rebellion in 1685.

l. 31. *Lycidas*: the name given by Milton to his friend Edward King, who was drowned in crossing the Irish Channel. As Macaulay remarks, Rowe's selection of this name for a friend about to visit Ireland is not very happy.

PAGE 75, l. 37. *Sir George Etheridge's way*: in *The Comical Revenge, or Love in a Tub,* Dufoy, a saucy French servant, is drugged and put into a tub with his head appearing at one end and his legs at the other; thus clad he is told to make love to the chambermaid—if he can. The play was first acted in 1664.

l. 42. *the farthingale*: a kind of tub-shaped crinoline. The first mention of the word given in *N. E. D.* is in a sermon of Latimer's (1552); but it is not easy to fix what is meant by 'the ruin of the Spanish monarchy'. The defeat of the Armada was in 1588.

PAGE 76, l. 1. *canes and snuff-boxes*: see *Tatler,* No. 103 (a joint production of Steele and Addison), and No. 35, which is by Steele.

l. 3. *ogling too dangerously*: *ib.*, No. 145, also by Steele.

l. 4. *for beating the watch,* &c.: I can find no reference in the *Tatler* or the *Spectator* to either of these charges.

Priscian: a grammarian of the fifth century; violating the rules of grammar was called 'breaking Priscian's head'. Cf. *Hudibras,* Part II. ii. 223:—

> And held no crime so deeply red
> As that of breaking Priscian's head.

l. 5. *caring too much for the puppet-show*: here too I have failed to find the reference.

l. 12. *caught at his friend's notion*: Addison recognized Steele's hand in the sixth number from a remark which he had himself made to him.

l. 22. *prolusions*: 'preludes'.

l. 23. *four acts of a tragedy*: *Cato* was begun when Addison was travelling in Italy; Tonson and Cibber said that Addison showed them four acts written out on his return in 1703. The fifth act was written 'in a week' ten years later.

l. 30. *bathos*: the depth of absurdity following on loftier ideas.

l. 37. *epithalamium*: 'poem on his marriage'.

PAGE 77, l. 16. *Ardelia* does not appear in this connexion in the *Tatler* or the *Spectator.* Thackeray has taken it as a fancy-name; so also Saccharissa and Sir Fopling below. The incidents too are his own.

l. 23. *Sir Fopling*: Sir Fopling Flutter was the chief character in Etherege's comedy, *The Man of Mode* (1676).

l. 27. *it must be owned*: in the first edition this is 'you must know it, he owned, too.'

l. 34. *the 'Grecian'*: a coffee-house in Devereux Court, off Essex Street, Strand.

the 'Devil': a tavern in Fleet Street near Temple Bar.

to pace 'Change: the Royal Exchange was frequented by many people besides merchants. Mr. Spectator went there once to enjoy the busy scene (*Spectator*, No. 454).

l. 37. *black*: 'dark-complexioned'.

PAGE 78, l. 12. *depending*: 'awaiting settlement'.

l. 39. *Child's*: a coffee-house in St. Paul's Churchyard, chiefly frequented by clergymen and physicians.

l. 40. *the Postman*: a penny weekly paper edited by a Frenchman named Fonvive. It was described as the best paper of its day (1705–12).

l. 41. *St. James's Coffee-house*: at the south-west corner of St. James's Street; it was chiefly frequented by Whig politicians.

l. 44. *the "Cocoa-Tree"*: a Tory chocolate-house in St. James's Street.

PAGE 79, l. 3. *damn him with faint praise*: from Pope's character of Addison under the name of Atticus in the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*. See below, p. 156, l. 18, and note.

l. 9. *Sir Roger de Coverley*: Steele gave the first sketch of the good knight in No. 2 of the *Spectator*, but the filling in of his character was mainly the work of Addison.

l. 11. *call out to the people*: *Spectator*, No. 112.

l. 13. *make a speech*: *ib.*, No. 122.

à propos de bottes: 'irrelevantly', 'not to the point'.

l. 16. *Jonathan's*: a coffee-house in Change Alley, Cornhill, the forerunner of the Stock Exchange.

l. 26. *blots*: in backgammon, when a single piece remains to be taken up, it is called a blot.

PAGE 80, l. 1: *Doll Tearsheet*: a disreputable woman in *2 Henry IV*, v. iv. Thackeray is alluding to the encounter with Sukey told by Steele in *Spectator*, No. 410.

l. 10. *that touched brain*: Sir Roger, like all interesting people, was unusual, not to say eccentric; but if that implies that his brain was touched, we can only regret that there are so many sane people in the world.

l. 28. *Soon as the evening shades*, &c.: from Addison's version of Psalm xix, which originally appeared in No. 465 of the *Spectator*.

PAGE 81, ll. 29–42: these notes are omitted in the second edition.

STEELE

PAGE 82, l. 24. *Swift's history*: *The History of the Four last Years of the Queen*, which was not published till 1758, though it was written during the time of which it tells.

l. 32. *Marlborough's life*: Coxe's *Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough*, published in 1818–19.

PAGE 83, l. 6. *almost at Paris gate*: as a matter of fact Marlborough's forces were never within a hundred miles of Paris.

l. 13. *daughter of Mnemosyne*: Clio, the Muse of History, was one of the nine Muses, daughters of Mnemosyne (Memory) by Zeus.

l. 19. *Turpin*, Dick, the notorious highwayman, was hanged at York in 1739, and not in London.

l. 24. *the Dons*: i.e. give a scholastic rather than a practical account of events. Cf. p. 154, l. 15.

PAGE 84, l. 3. *The Maypole*: before the Commonwealth and after the Restoration there stood a Maypole, reputed the highest in England, in front of the place where St. Mary-le-Strand is now. It was finally removed in 1717. Cf. *The Dunciad*, ii. 28–30:—

> Where the tall may-pole once o'erlooked the Strand,
> But now (so Anne and Piety ordain)
> A Church collects the saints of Drury-lane.

l. 4. *crowded*: in the first edition this is 'thronged'.

l. 11. *Will Wimble*: a country gentleman whose character is drawn by Addison in No. 108 of the *Spectator*; he was 'extremely well versed in all the handicrafts of an idle man'.

l. 18. *Captain Macheath*: see above, p. 8, l. 5.

l. 20. *Boniface*: the standing name for an innkeeper, taken from one in Farquhar's *Beaux' Stratagem*.

l. 30. *Ramillies*: in Belgium, fought in 1706; *Malplaquet*: in the north of France, fought in 1709; the scenes of two of Marlborough's victories over the French.

PAGE 85, l. 10. *Addison talks jocularly*: in No. 129 of the *Spectator*. *Staines* is on the Exeter Road, sixteen miles from Hyde Park Corner.

l. 17. *coram latronibus*: 'when confronted with highwaymen'. From Juvenal x. 22,

> Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator;

which some one has translated,

> The empty traveller may whistle
> Before the robber and his pistol.

l. 19. *it was the fashion to accompany him*: the ghastly procession from Newgate to Tyburn was discontinued in 1783; after which executions took place in front of Newgate.

l. 34. *Swift laughed at him*: the passage is quoted above, p. 16.

l. 38. *Gay wrote the most delightful ballads*: in *The Beggar's Opera*, produced in 1728; see below, p. 138.

PAGE 86, l. 16. *Lord Mohun*: Charles, fifth Baron Mohun, born about 1675, killed in a duel in Hyde Park, November 15, 1712. It was in December 1692—not 1691—that he and Captain Hill murdered Mountford. Thackeray gives a fuller picture of 'this exceedingly fast nobleman' in *Esmond*, Book I, chap. xii sqq.

l. 18. *Howell's State Trials*: see vol. xii, p. 949 sqq.

l. 22. *Mrs. Bracegirdle*: cf. above, p. 48, l. 19; p. 49, l. 20 sqq.

PAGE 87, l. 8. *Sixty-one*: in point of fact sixty-nine.

l. 11. *another trial for murder*: see Howell's *State Trials*, vol. xiii, p. 939, for Lord Warwick's trial, and p. 1033 for Lord Mohun's.

l. 15. *at Locket's*: Locket kept a famous ordinary, which is often mentioned in the literature of the day. It lasted into the reign of George I, after which it is heard of no more.

l. 21. *buy his commission*: the cost of an ensign's commission was £400; towards this Warwick lent Coote a hundred guineas. The purchase of commissions in the army was only abolished in 1871 by Royal Warrant, the Bill for the purpose having been rejected by the House of Lords.

l. 24. *On this evening*: the duel took place on the night of October 30, 1699; the trial began on March 28 following, and resulted in Warwick's being found guilty of manslaughter; but he pleaded his peerage, and was discharged. Mohun was found not guilty, and was discharged. From the evidence they appear to have been equally culpable.

l. 30. *Chap-Books*: a modern name given to specimens of popular literature which were carried about by chapmen or hawkers.

l. 39. *afterwards*: see note on l. 16 of previous page.

l. 42. *a recent novelist*: Thackeray himself in *Esmond*.

PAGE 88, l. 4. *Leicester Fields*: the name given to Leicester Square till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

l. 29. *the black, lampless streets*: it was not till the reign of George III that the streets were publicly lighted.

l. 34. *bagnio*: [Ital.] 'baths', where a barber-surgeon would be in attendance. 'They were soon used to such an extent for illicit intrigues, that the name of a hothouse or bagnio became equivalent to that of a brothel' (Wright). It is in this sense that the word is used below, p. 177, l. 17.

PAGE 89, l. 1. *have ceased to run*: 'to have legal validity'.

l. 14. *the Waverley novels*: *Waverley*, the first of them, came out in 1814.

l. 16. *the Miss Porters*: Jane and Anna Maria, born in the last quarter of the eighteenth century; the former was the author of *The Scottish Chiefs* and *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, which still have a certain vogue.

the Anne of Swanseas: Mrs. Anne Hatton wrote about a dozen novels between 1810 and 1831, under the name of Anne of Swansea. She was the sister of Kemble the actor, and of Mrs. Siddons.

Mrs. Radcliffe: (1764–1823) author of *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and other blood-curdling romances.

l. 21. *Mrs. Manley*: (1672–1724) it was to her that Swift gave materials for those pamphlets which he preferred not to write himself (*Journal to Stella*, April 16, 1711). Her *New Atalantis* was a scandalous record of 'Persons of Quality of both Sexes'.

l. 23. *Tom Durfey*: a comic dramatist and poet of the Restoration (1653–1723).

Tom Brown: a satirical and scurrilous writer of the same period (1663–1704).

Ned Ward: a tavern-keeper and writer of political squibs (for some of which he was put in the pillory), and other poems and pamphlets. The *London Spy* was a monthly publication which began in 1698.

l. 26. *farrago*: 'hotch-potch', 'medley'.

l. 29. *Craftsmen*: the *Craftsman* was a political periodical started in 1726 by Bolingbroke and Pulteney, and carried on by Nicholas Amhurst. It was largely instrumental in the overthrow of Sir Robert Walpole in 1742.

Post Boys: the *Post Boy* was started as a Tory paper by one Thomas in 1697, and carried on by Abel Boyer; it was flourishing in 1722.

l. 30. *lighter*: the first edition reads 'higher'; this may be merely a printer's error—otherwise it is a poor sarcasm.

l. 32. *Wednesday, October 13th*: the real date of No. 70 of the *British Apollo*, from which the extracts are made, is Friday, October 8—Wednesday, October 13.

l. 40. *the passage*, &c.: 1 Tim. iii. 2, 'A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife.'

PAGE 90, l. 20. '*Why does hot water freeze sooner than cold?*' I am told that this remarkable superstition is still prevalent in many parts of the country. It probably originated from the remarkable quickness with which hot water loses its heat when exposed to frosty air.

PAGE 91, l. 2. *Armenia*: this is the reading of the first edition; in the second Thackeray altered it to 'Ardelia'; but, as the name is 'Armenia' in the *British Apollo*, I have restored the reading of the first edition.

l. 4. *winds*: in the first edition 'wound'.

l. 7. *Mr. Hill*: probably Aaron Hill, poet and playwright, who in 1709, after travelling in the East, published *A Full Account of the Ottoman Empire.*

l. 11. *when the Tatler appeared*: its first number was issued on April 12, 1709; it was a single sheet, appearing three times a week, and sold for one penny.

l. 17. *humanities*: 'the Greek and Latin classics', which, as Ovid said, have a softening and civilizing effect on the character. The term is still used in the Scottish Universities.

l. 19. *Duke of Ormond*: Henry Gascoigne, Steele's uncle, was private secretary to the Duke of Ormonde. Steele was entrusted to his uncle's care on the death of his mother, which took place not long after that of his father.

l. 21. *described*: in the *Tatler*, No. 181. Thackeray quotes from it below, p. 114.

PAGE 92, l. 5. *mum*: a strong beer, made originally in Brunswick, and largely imported into England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

sack: [Fr. *sec* = dry] a white wine from Spain or the Canaries.

l. 11. *Lucas's Fusiliers*: Lord Lucas's regiment was the Thirty-fourth, and was not called 'Fusiliers'. This term was applied to those regiments which were armed with the fusil—a species of long musket.

l. 15. *the expelled Member of Parliament*: in March 1713–14, Steele was expelled the House for writing a pamphlet on the succession to the Crown, entitled *The Crisis.* After the accession of George I he was returned for another constituency.

l. 32. *masterpiece*: in the first edition 'masterpieces'.

l. 36. *are*: in the first edition 'were'.

PAGE 93, l. 1. *gownboy*: Steele was on the foundation, i.e. a scholar, at Charterhouse.

l. 6. *Joseph Addison was always his head boy*: though he was two months younger than Steele, Addison went to Oxford three years earlier than his schoolfellow.

l. 20. *rode privately*: i.e. as a private. Steele enlisted as a cadet or gentleman volunteer in the Second Troop of Life Guards in 1694.

l. 28. *cloathes*: this spelling and 'finist' (l. 30) are corrections made in the second edition.

PAGE 94, l. 3. *a cornetcy*: a cornet in a cavalry regiment corresponded to an ensign in a line regiment. But it does not appear that Steele ever held that rank. Lord Cutts made him an ensign in the newly formed Coldstream Guards in 1699, and in 1702 he became a captain in Lucas's regiment, which was not called Fusiliers.

l. 7. *The Christian Hero*: its sub-title was *An Argument proving that no Principles but those of Religion are sufficient to make a great Man.*

As poor Dick, &c.: in the first edition this runs, 'As for Dick . . . work, he was . . . town; it is related', &c.

l. 23. *Good Dr. Lucas*: the work referred to was possibly the *Enquiry after Happiness* of Dr. Richard Lucas, Prebendary of Westminster. Written in 1685 it soon became the most popular devotional book of its day, and reached its tenth edition in 1764.

PAGE 95, l. 3. *Steele says of himself*: there are many expressions of contrition in his letters to his wife, but I cannot find this one.

l. 7. *paper in the Tatler*: No. 181, quoted below, p. 114.

PAGE 96, l. 2. *Garraway's*: a celebrated coffee-house in Exchange Alley, Cornhill, which lasted for over two centuries, but was pulled down in 1866.

In both editions there are inverted commas round two parts of this sentence, which I have removed, as Thackeray only gives the sense, and not the exact words, of the passage.

l. 7. *the 'Rose'*: an ordinary in Russell Street, Covent Garden.

l. 8. *Sir Plume*: perhaps taken from Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, where appears

> Sir Plume, of amber snuff-box justly vain,
> And the nice conduct of a clouded cane.

l. 9. *Mr. Diver*: I have been unable to find any character of this name.

l. 18. *Maudlin*: the spelling represents the pronunciation of the name of the college, Magdalen, where the meadow walk is called after Addison.

l. 29. *the 'Devil', or the 'Garter'*: see above, p. 77, ll. 34 and 15.

l. 36. *table-book*: 'tablet' or 'note-book'.

PAGE 97, l. 1. *Gazetteer*: editor of the *Gazette*, an official paper published twice a week, which announces pensions, promotions, bankruptcies, and the like.

l. 2. *The Tender Husband*: this was Steele's third, not second, play, and it was produced in 1705; his second play was *The Lying Lover*, which appeared in 1703, when, as Steele said, it was 'damned for its piety'. His last and most successful comedy was *The Conscious Lovers* (1722).

l. 3. *he fondly owned*: in No. 555 of the *Spectator*.

l. 22. *that excellent man*: Addison had died eight months before this, and Lady Steele had been dead for over two years.

l. 29. *Sydney Smith*: in 1804–6 Sydney Smith delivered courses of lectures at the Royal Institution. In the tenth of these lectures, treating of wit and humour, he quoted this passage from *The Funeral*. The lectures were published in 1854.

l. 35. *that fellow's almost*: i.e. 'that fellow who is almost'.

PAGE 98, l. 10. *monitor*: 'adviser'.

l. 12. *complication*: 'combination'.

l. 34. *Mrs. Mary*: the term 'Miss' was then applied only to girls under sixteen; after that they were termed 'Mistress' or 'Madam'. Cf. above, p. 36, l. 34.

PAGE 99, l. 1. *the famous Spectator*: the first number appeared March 1, 1710–11; it was of the same size as the *Tatler*, came out daily, and cost one penny till the Stamp Act of 1712, after which its price was raised to twopence.

l. 41. *fearfulness to find a fault*: 'strong reluctance to reprove'.

PAGE 100, l. 2. *the Guardian*: brought out by Steele in March 1713; it ran to 175 numbers.

the Englishman: of this there were fifty-six numbers, the first appearing October 1713; it followed immediately on the *Guardian*.

the Lover appeared in 1714; there were forty numbers, of which two were by Addison.

l. 6. *gossipping*: 'christening'. Gossip means 'related in God'.

l. 26. *open-breasted*: with the waistcoat unbuttoned, so as to show the embroidered shirt.

l. 33. *the front box*: the ladies usually sat in the boxes facing the stage, the men in those at the sides or in the pit.

l. 42. *a point of war*: a signal on a trumpet or drum. Cf. *Waverley*, chap. xlvi, 'The trumpets and kettledrums were next heard to perform the beautiful and wild point of war, appropriated as a signal for that piece of nocturnal duty'.

l. 46. *on the other side eight years old*: the variations of reading in the *Tatler* are innumerable; in this passage the original has 't'other side ten'; the collected editions of 1713 and 1720 have 't'other side eight'; an edition of 1786 and Chalmers's edition of 1823 have 'the other side eight'.

PAGE 101, l. 1. *the Reader* began before the *Lover* expired; it ran for nine numbers, not two.

l. 2. *the Theatre*: a twopenny paper, which appeared twice a week, beginning in 1719; it only reached twenty-eight numbers. For Sir John Edgar's portrait as painted by Dennis, see below, p. 119.

l. 20. *Don Bellianis of Greece*: it should be 'Belianis'; he was the hero of a Spanish romance of chivalry. An English abridgement of it was published in 1673.

Guy of Warwick: a legendary hero whose history was written in the twelfth century, and later by Drayton in *Polyolbion* (songs xii and xiii).

l. 21. *the Seven Champions* of Christendom were St. George, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, St. David, St. Denis (France), St. James (Spain), St. Antony (Italy). Their history was written in 1617 by Richard Johnson.

l. 23. *and that*: 'and to show that', or 'as a proof that'.

l. 26. *John Hickerthrift*: (or Hickathrift), a legendary poor labourer who slew a giant and became ruler of Thanet.

l. 27. *Bevis of Southampton*: a knight errant whose history is given in *Polyolbion* (song ii).

l. 28. *St. George*: a native of Cappadocia in Asia Minor; he was martyred under Diocletian (A. D. 303), and was adopted by Edward III as the patron saint of England for the help he was believed to have given to the English arms in the Crusades.

PAGE **102**, l. 5. *in Wales*: at Carmarthen, where he had lived for some time before his death. He was buried there in St. Peter's Church.

l. 10. *Congreve the Great, who alludes*: in the second paper of the *Tatler*, No. 42. It was in the same paper that he sang the praises of Aspatia (sic). See below, p. 103, l. 12.

PAGE **103**, l. 13. *to have loved her was a liberal education*: it is in No. 49 of the *Tatler* that Steele says this of Aspasia (sic), by whom he meant Lady Elizabeth Hastings, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon. The remark is assigned by Leigh Hunt to Congreve, in which error he has been followed by Mr. Walter Sichel in a recent number of the *Contemporary Review*. Thackeray's estimate of this famous sentence as 'the finest compliment ever offered to a woman' is a little extravagant: to love any woman is a liberal education, so that the compliment is one of universal application; moreover, what is commonly called a liberal education is not invariably productive of either wisdom, sense, prosperity, or happiness.

l. 14. *dedicating a volume to his wife*: this is the third volume of the *Ladies' Library*, all three volumes of which appeared in 1714.

PAGE **104**, l. 16. This letter was printed, with a few alterations, as No. 142 of the *Spectator*, where appears also the letter of September 1. The intermediate letter Steele did not see fit to print.

PAGE **105**, l. 1. *Walpole*, Horace (1717–97), the third son of Sir Robert Walpole, and later fourth Earl of Orford, is more noted for his voluminous correspondence—there are sixteen volumes of it in Mrs. Paget Toynbee's edition—than for his romance, *The Castle of Otranto*, or for his *Anecdotes of Painting*.

l. 11. *Hampton Court*: where Queen Anne often resided.

l. 12. *on Tuesday come se'nnight*: 'next Tuesday week'.

PAGE **106**, l. 19. *Mr. Edgecomb, Ned Ash, and Mr. Lumley*: Mr. Aitken, in his *Life of Steele* (1889), identifies these with the 'R. Edgecomb, Esq.', who was a subscriber to the collected edition of *The Tatler*; Edward Ash, M.P. for Heytesbury; and Lieutenant General Lumley, who also subscribed for *The Tatler*.

l. 27. *Tonson*: see above, note to p. 66, l. 26.

PAGE **107**, l. 14. *'within a pint of wine'*: this is dated January 5, 1707–8.

l. 37. *In another*: this bears no date but 'Half-hour after nine'.

PAGE **108**, l. 4. *Germain Street*: i. e. Jermyn Street, which was originally spelt 'Germin'. Steele's house in Bury Street was pulled down in 1830. Swift also lived in Bury Street (see above, p. 36), five doors from Mrs. Vanhomrigh.

l. 16. *Prince George*: George of Denmark, husband of Queen Anne.

PAGE **109**, l. 1. *in Jermyn Street . . . three doors from Bury Street*: Thackeray has transposed the two names, see last page.

l. 22. *'I fared like a distressed prince,'* &c.: from the preface to the fourth volume of the *Tatler*.

l. 32. *One narrated by Dr. Hoadly*: this appears in vol. ii, p. 508, of *The Epistolary Correspondence of Sir Richard Steele*, from which so many extracts have been made above. It is there said to be 'from a letter written by Dr. John Hoadly', presumably to Nichols the editor.

l. 39. *Shire Lane*: this is printed 'Shoe Lane' in Nichols and in both editions of the *Humourists*, but as the 'Trumpet' was in Shire Lane, or Sheer Lane, off Fleet Street, where the Law Courts are now, I have restored the correct reading.

PAGE **110**, l. 2. *the 4th of November*: birthday and wedding day of William of Orange.

l. 5. *by that time Steele was*: 'by the time that Steele was'.

l. 18. *was got quietly to bed*: the letter continues, 'The next morning he was much ashamed, and sent the Bishop the distich' given in the footnote.

l. 21. *Mr. Joseph Miller*: in 1739 John Mottley published a collection of jokes, which he called *Joe Miller's Jest Book*, after a comic actor of the day.

l. 24. *a pretty private theatre*: this was called 'The Censorium', and is described in No. 4 of *The Town Talk*, January 6, 1715–16. There Steele says that 'the Censorium, as everybody knows, is the organ of sense, as the eye is of sight'. [Spelling was not a strong point with Steele.] The theatre or rather Music Room was not built but only adapted by Steele; it was situate in York Buildings, where he then had a house.

PAGE **111**, l. 31. *damn with faint praise*: see below, p. 156, l. 18.

l. 33. *savage indignation*: see above, p. 25, l. 16 and note.

PAGE **113**, l. 7. *Amazed, confused*, &c.: from *The Day of Judgement*.

l. 15. *shamm'd*: 'cheated'.

l. 22. *you're bit*: in modern slang parlance, 'had', i. e. outwitted.

PAGE **114**, l. 24. *Steele says in The Tatler*: No. 181. This paper has been twice before referred to.

PAGE **115**, l. 14. *an equal*: in the first edition 'the same'.

PAGE **116**, l. 34. *Atwit*: this is the reading of the first edition and of the original. In the second Thackeray altered to 'Alwit', but he left the true reading below, p. 118, l. 33.

l. 39. *the Barmecide's*: in the Tale of the Barber's Sixth Brother in *The Arabian Nights*, Schacabac, a starving wretch, is invited to dinner by a Barmecide, who regales him on purely imaginary food and drink. The Barmecides were a powerful Persian family; one of them, Jaffar, was vizier to Haroun al Raschid.

PAGE **117**, l. 10. *March beer*: March and October are the best months for brewing, as the fermentation is retarded if the weather is too cold, and unduly forced if it is too hot.

l. 32. *tea cost thirty shillings a pound*: I gather from *Notes and Queries* that tea was known in this country as early as 1587; for the next eighty years it was imported by the Dutch, and cost from £5 to £10 per lb. In 1669 the East India Company began to import it, and its price naturally declined; so that in 1728 it was from 13*s.* to 20*s.* per lb. The date of the *Polite Conversation* being 1738, it seems probable that Thackeray has over-stated the price.

l. 35. *quadrille*: a four-handed game of cards played with a pack of forty cards.

PAGE **119**, l. 10. *beignets*: 'fritters'.

l. 15. *White's*: a chocolate-house and gambling club established in St. James's Street in 1698. In the first number of the *Tatler* (April 12, 1709) Steele says 'all accounts of gallantry, pleasure, and entertainment shall be under the article of White's Chocolate-house; Poetry under that of Will's Coffee-house', &c.

l. 19. *Dennis*: see above, note to p. 44, l. 10.

l. 20. *thus depicts him*: in *The Picture of Sir John Edgar*, which was appended to the second part of *The Characters and Conduct of Sir John Edgar and his three Deputy Governors*, &c. (1720). For *Sir John Edgar*, see above, p. 101, l. 2.

PAGE **120**, l. 31. *Cibber*, Colley (1671–1757), an actor and dramatist, who was made Poet Laureate in 1730. He was the chief object of Pope's attack in the final version of the *Dunciad*. Pope substituted his name for Theobald's, not because he hated the latter any less, but because he hated Cibber even more, though the grounds of the feud between them are not clear.

l. 43. *joint-stools*: stools made by joining pieces of wood together, as practically all stools are made to-day.

PAGE **123**, l. 7. *Dan*: this is not a Christian name, but a title of respect, like 'Master'; it came later to be applied exclusively to poets, owing, says *N. E. D.*, to Spenser's line, 'Dan Chaucer, well of English undefiled' (*F. Q.* IV. ii. 32). So Prior in *Alma* speaks of 'Dan Pope'.

l. 8. *Welcome from Greece*: i. e. congratulations on the accomplishment of his translation of the *Iliad*.

l. 22. *Lord Jersey's*: this was Edward Villiers, first Earl of Jersey (1656–1711). In 1698 he went to Paris as ambassador-extraordinary, Prior going with him as secretary to the embassy. The following year when he became Secretary of State, Prior was made under-secretary.

PAGE **124**, l. 2. *one of his lyrics*: i. e. *The Secretary*, written at the Hague in 1696. The word 'friend' should be 'nymph'.

l. 5. *Spielhaus*: 'gambling-house'.

l. 6. *bobbing*: 'fishing with a bob', i. e. a knot of worms threaded on worsted.

l. 8. *his Epicurean master*: Horace was a follower, both in theory and practice, of Epicurus, for whom see above, note to p. 14, l. 24.

l. 9. *Batavian*: Batavia was an old name for Holland and the Netherlands, derived from the Batavi, a Low German tribe conquered by the Romans in the time of Augustus.

l. 10. *A vintner's son*: his father, George Prior, is said to have been a joiner at Wimborne in Dorset; George's brother, Samuel, was a vintner in Westminster.

l. 11. *Busby*: see above, note to p. 44, l. 7.

l. 13. *Montague*: see above, note to p. 66, l. 15.

l. 16. *The Town and Country Mouse*: though often so called, its true title was *The Hind and the Panther transvers'd To the Story of the Country-Mouse and the City-Mouse* (1687).

l. 25. *of Europe*: these two words are not in the first edition.

l. 28. *Alcaics*: a metre, the invention of which is ascribed to the Greek poet Alcaeus. It consists of stanzas of four lines, and is much used by Horace. Tennyson attempted it in his 'O mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies', &c.

l. 36. *the Rehearsal*: a comedy by George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, one of the wildest and wickedest of Charles II's courtiers; the play was intended as a skit on Dryden's tragedies, and was produced in 1671.

PAGE **125**, l. 17. *Thee, gracious Anne*, &c.: the concluding lines in *An Epistle desiring the Queen's picture, written at Paris 1714; but left unfinished, by the sudden news of Her Majesty's death.*

l. 22. *Stator*: the stablisher or supporter.

l. 23. *The votive tablet*: see Horace, *Od.* I. v. 14; a Roman who had escaped shipwreck set up a tablet in the temple of Neptune to express his gratitude.

l. 25. *Mahomet's coffin*: according to the common tale this was suspended in the air midway between roof and floor of the building at Medina, where it was placed after death. The traveller Burckhardt, who entered Medina in disguise in the early part of the nineteenth century, declared that the coffin rested on the ground; but of course the legend was not upset by mere evidence.

l. 27. *the Duke of Shrewsbury*: Prior went over to Paris in July 1711, and again in August 1712, when he accompanied Bolingbroke; on the return of the latter at the end of the month Prior was left behind 'to adjust whatever differences might remain or arise between the two crowns'. The Duke of Shrewsbury went over in November of the same year; and presumably it was then, if ever, that he protested against Prior's being in the same commission with himself. Anyhow his protest does not seem to have had much effect, for while he himself returned in June 1713, Prior stayed on as British representative till March 1715. Is it not possible that Johnson was thinking of the Earl of Strafford, who had been appointed one of the plenipotentiaries to sign the treaty at Utrecht, Prior being also named in the same commission, together with Bishop Robinson, who was Lord Privy Seal? See *Journal to Stella*, November 20, 1711, where Swift says, 'Lord Strafford is as proud as hell, and how he will bear one of Prior's mean birth on an equal character with him I know not.' Anyhow, Prior never became one of the plenipotentiaries, but, as said above, remained at Paris till 1715, with incidental journeys to England.

l. 35. *Nobles and heralds*: another reading is 'Heralds and Statesmen . . . Here lie the bones of . . . go higher.'

l. 38. *Bourbon or Nassau*: the former was the royal house dating from the tenth century, which gave kings to France, Spain, and Naples. The latter was the noble house from which William of Orange was descended.

l. 39. *the old joke*: I suppose this means the assertion that we are all descended from Adam.

PAGE 126, l. 6. *suffered disgrace*: after his recall from Paris in March 1715, Prior was impeached and kept in custody for three years, during which time he relieved the tedium of imprisonment by writing *Alma*.

l. 9. *Oxford pensioned him*: Prior had made 4,000 guineas by an edition of his poems in 1719. Lord Harley, son of the Earl of Oxford, added as much more to enable him to buy Down Hall, near Harlow, in Essex, which he retained till his death in September 1721.

l. 12. *Spence*: see below, p. 163, l. 38. The 'legend' is not from Spence, but from *Richardsoniana, or Occasional Reflections on the Moral Nature of Man, by the late Jonathan Richardson jun. Esq.* (1776); this was the son of the famous portrait-

painter mentioned below, p. 161. The tale is on p. 274 of his *Occasional Reflections.*

l. 18. *Johnson speaks slightingly*: 'He attacked him [Prior] powerfully; said he wrote of love like a man who had never felt it; . . . Mrs. Thrale stood to her gun with great courage, . . . till he at last silenced her by saying, "My dear lady, talk no more of this; nonsense can be defended but by nonsense."' Boswell's *Life*, anno 1769. Johnson, however, who was nothing if not contradictious, could on occasion defend Prior. See below, p. 131, l. 13 sqq.

l. 25. *Radcliffe*: Dr. John Radcliffe (1650–1714) was a famous physician, who attended several members of the royal family. He left most of his property to the University of Oxford, where the Radcliffe Infirmary and Observatory are named after him.

l. 33. *Yes, every poet*, &c.: in Swift's works under the heading 'Miscellanies in Verse by Mr. Pope, Dr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Gay, &c.', this epigram appears as 'From the French'. There it runs:—

Sir I admit your gen'ral rule
That every poet is a fool;
But you yourself may serve to show it
That every fool is not a poet.

The 'genuine sparkle' is, it appears, not necessarily original.

Page 127, l. 7. *the Sabine farm*: this was given to Horace by the emperor through the interest of Maecenas.

l. 10. *So when in fevered dreams*, &c.: Thackeray has so transformed these verses that I have not ventured to correct them. They come in the second version, published in 1692, of a poem *To the Hon. Charles Montague*, and run:—

Our hopes like towering falcons aim
At objects in an airy height;
But all the pleasure of the game
Is afar off to view the flight.
. . . . .
So while in feverish sleeps we think
We taste what waking we desire,
The dream is better than the drink
Which only feeds the sickly fire.

In the original form the lines hardly suggest Tennyson, if that is the 'poet of our own days' to whom Thackeray alluded.

l. 21. *The God of us verse-men*, &c.: from a set of three songs entitled *Chloe Jealous.*

l. 24. *Thetis*: the wife of Peleus, and mother by him of Achilles. Being the daughter of Nereus the sea-god, she dwelt with her sisters in the depths of the sea, but she does not appear to have had any special connexion with the sun.

l. 30. *like Horace and Lydia*: see Horace, *Od.* III. ix, 'Donec gratus eram tibi', &c.

l. 31. *than her*: this should of course be 'than she', and in

the next line 'than me' should be 'than I'—if one may hamper so charming a song by mere considerations of grammar.

PAGE 128, l. 5. *She sighed, she smiled*, &c.: from *The Garland*.

l. 22. *Deus sit propitius*, &c.: 'May the Lord be merciful to this honest toper'. From a delightful bacchanalian quatrain beginning 'Meum est propositum in taberna mori'.

l. 23. *Walter de Mapes*: or Map (? 1140–1210), an author of Welsh extraction, who was one of the Clerks of the Household to Henry II. He has been credited with a large share in the composition of the Arthurian legend.

l. 24. *Sir Thomas Hanmer*: Speaker of the House of Commons in 1714. He married Isabella, the widow of the Duke of Grafton, whose seat was Euston near Thetford. Sir Thomas's house was some ten miles away at Mildenhall.

l. 35. *Epictetus*: a celebrated Stoic philosopher, by birth a slave, who taught at Rome in the reigns of Nero and Domitian. He left no writings, but his teaching was preserved in written form by his pupil Arrian. *Simplicius*, a Neo-platonist of the sixth century, wrote a commentary on it.

PAGE 129, l. 3. *Cape Caballum*: 'take horse-exercise'.

l. 6. *Rixham*: I can find no place of this name in the neighbourhood or elsewhere.

l. 11. *that has her goings*: in a newspaper of 1701 a horse is advertised that has 'all his goings', in the sense of paces; so possibly Prior means 'active'.

l. 17. *1st–12th May*: the double date was necessary, for the reform of the calendar, which took place in all Roman Catholic countries in 1582, was not adopted in England till 1752, so that the date in this country was eleven days behind that in Paris.

l. 20. *Henry*: Lord Bolingbroke, to whom the letter is addressed.

l. 22. *Colbert*, Marquis de Torcy (1665–1746), was a French diplomatist who acted for some time as ambassador to the English Court.

l. 47. *Robin and Harry*: Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.

PAGE 130, l. 8. *dic aliquid de tribus capellis*: 'Now talk about my three kids', i. e. Come to the point. In Martial vi. 19, Postumus, a windy advocate, has to plead the cause of a man whose kids have been stolen; he begins with a long harangue about the past military glory of Rome, which his client interrupts with 'Nunc dic, Postume, de tribus capellis'.

l. 12. *Drift*, Adrian, a clerk of Prior's, was afterwards his executor.

Mr. Whitworth, Charles, afterwards Baron Whitworth, was actually appointed British Plenipotentiary at Baden the day before this letter was written.

l. 24. *Frank Gwyn*: see above, note to p. 20, l. 1.
l. 45. *Jacob Tonson*: see above, note to p. 66, l. 26.

PAGE 131, l. 8. *Craggs*: James, the younger (1686–1721), succeeded Addison as one of the principal Secretaries of State in 1718. He became involved in the South Sea Company, and was said to have connived at bribes given by the directors to facilitate the passing of the Bill. Three weeks after the attention of Parliament was drawn to the matter Craggs died of small-pox.
l. 10. *Fortune shook her swift wings*: from Horace, *Od.* III. xxix. 53 'si celeres quatit Pennas, resigno quae dedit'.
l. 29. *born in 1688—Pope's year*: Pope was born in 1688, but Gay three years earlier. He was baptized in Barnstaple Church, September 1685. The same mistake appears in Johnson's *Life of Gay*.
l. 37. *to the young princesses*: or rather Princess Louisa, the youngest child of George II. See below, p. 134, l. 35. He was offered the post in 1727.
l. 40. *the first Beggar's Opera*: see below, p. 138, l. 32. It was produced in January 1728, at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, by Rich; the effect, as a contemporary wit remarked, was to make Rich gay and Gay rich. Elsewhere Pope says that Gay made £700 or £800 by it.
the second: *Polly*, which Thackeray calls a 'wearisome continuation' of the earlier opera, was prohibited by the Lord Chamberlain, for what reason is not very apparent; but being published in book form proved an immense success, the censor's veto having acted as a fine advertisement.
l. 45. *upwards of* 3,000*l.*: this should rather be £6,000.

PAGE 132, l. 4. *negligée*: if this is meant for a French word, as the italics and accent seem to show, it should be '*négligé*'. The word was naturalized as 'negligee' in the eighteenth century, meaning a loose wrapper worn by women.
l. 18. '*Kitty, beautiful and young*': from *The Female Phaeton*, l. 1.
l. 29. *thy bust Is mix'd with heroes*: Gay was buried in Westminster Abbey, 'as if he had been a peer of the realm,' says Arbuthnot.

PAGE 133, l. 19. *Binfield*: Pope's home in Windsor Forest.
l. 44. *besides learned notes*: 'The copious notes with which the version is accompanied, and by which it is recommended to many readers, though they were undoubtedly written to swell the volumes, ought not to pass without praise: commentaries which attract the reader by the pleasure of perusal have not often appeared; the notes of others are read to clear difficulties, those of Pope to vary entertainment'. Johnson, *Life of Pope*, p. 196 (ed. of 1790–1).

PAGE 134, l. 3. *who harboured Don Quixote*: see *Don Quixote*, chap. 82 sqq.

l. 14. *Rosalindas*: Spenser in his *Shepheard's Calendar* introduces a love-sick swain who has been forsaken by the shepherdess Rosalind. Blouzelinda is a sturdy country wench from Gay's *Shepherd's Week*.

l. 16. *Philips*, Ambrose (1671–1749), is chiefly known by his *Pastorals*, which appeared in 1709 in Tonson's *Miscellanies*; the same number contained Pope's *Pastorals*, so that the two poets were at once brought into rivalry. This was accentuated by Philips's joining the Addison faction against Pope; and it was at the latter's instigation that Gay wrote *The Shepherd's Week* in 1714, Pope being anxious to rob Philips of the popularity he had gained.

l. 18. *Dr. Parnell*: (whom Pope spells 'Parnelle' in both places in this letter), Thomas Parnell (1679–1718) was a minor poet of Queen Anne's time; the best known of his poems is *The Hermit*. Pope published his poems in 1722.

l. 40. *the French philosopher*: René Descartes (1596–1650) said that consciousness was the foundation of all knowledge; the consciousness of a man's existence is to him the assurance of his existence: 'I think, therefore I exist'. Congreve found the proof of Gay's existence in the fact that he ate.

PAGE 135, l. 9. *Swift says, writing to Gay*: March 19, 1728–9.

l. 10. *villakin*: in Scott's *Swift* this is 'village'; and for 'his' he reads 'this'.

l. 13. *in another letter*: September 10, 1731.

PAGE 136, l. 13. *the Duke of Cumberland*: William Augustus, second son of George II, fought at his father's side at Dettingen (1743), where the allied English and German forces defeated the French; and commanded at Culloden (1746), where his brutality towards the defeated Jacobites earned him the title of 'The Butcher'.

l. 25. *minikin*: 'diminutive'.

l. 30. *a bird-organ*: a small barrel-organ, so called because it was used to teach birds to sing.

l. 36. *Naples*: a yellow pigment prepared in Italy, used for colouring porcelain and in oil-painting.

Bergamot: a scented oil extracted from a species of citron.

l. 39. *'Bumkinets and Hobnelias'*: a shepherd and shepherdess in Gay's *Shepherd's Week*.

PAGE 137, l. 19. *Rubini*, Giovanni Battista (1795–1854), a celebrated Italian tenor. According to a note in Lady Ritchie's edition the remark was made earlier about Mlle Duchesnois of the Théâtre Français, who died in 1835.

l. 24. *says Singer*: there were two editions of Spence's *Anecdotes* published in 1820, one by Singer, the other by Malone. There are many variations in the two, and each editor has

appended notes of his own. The one used by Thackeray and Hannay was evidently Singer's; but the editorial notes being merely marked 'Ed.', whichever of the two cited this note apparently forgot which edition he was using, and wrote 'Malone' in place of 'Singer'; for thus it appears in all the editions of the *Lectures*.

PAGE **138**, l. 1. *its wearisome continuation*: for *Polly* see above, note to p. 131, l. 40.

PAGE **140**, l. 9. *he thought proper to steal it*: in 1718 Lord Harcourt lent his house at Stanton Harcourt in Oxfordshire to Pope, who wished to be near Oxford, as he was then busy on his *Iliad*. He invited Gay to stay with him, and it was during the visit that this famous tragedy occurred. It was first told by Gay to Mr. Fortescue in a letter dated August 9, which was printed in 1737. Pope's account of it to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu is dated September 1; this is the version given by Thackeray as Gay's. There is a striking resemblance between the two letters, as though one had been written from the recollection of the other. But on August 6 Pope wrote an account of the tragedy in almost identical terms to Martha Blount; so that if either poet was the sole originator of the letter, it was Pope and not Gay. Messrs. Elwin and Courthope, however, in their edition of Pope suggest that Pope and Gay collaborated in an account of the disaster, and sent it with very slight variations to their friends; for Lord Bathurst, in a letter to Pope, dated August 14, says, 'I must now return my thanks to Mr. Gay and you for your melancholy novel you sent me of the two unhappy lovers.' It would thus appear that there was no 'stealing' on either side, and Pope has one less aspersion on his literary honesty.

l. 11. *my Lord Duke of Kingston's daughter*: the famous Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who introduced the practice of inoculation into England from Turkey. Her *Letters* were printed in 1763, the year after her death.

l. 21. *one of the greatest literary artists*: in the first edition this is 'the greatest literary artist'.

l. 32. *dealt in Hollands*: he kept a linen-draper's shop in the City, but retired from business when his son was quite young.

PAGE **141**, l. 9. '*And this was all the teaching*', &c.: Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 193, in Singer's edition of 1820.

l. 15. *Alcander*: the poem itself (which *Dict. Nat. Biog.* calls 'Alexander') was afterwards burnt, but some of the couplets from it, Pope tells us in *Spence* (p. 277), were used for the *Essay on Criticism* and *The Dunciad*.

l. 16. *Statius*: see above, note to p. 70, l. 8.

l. 18. '*This I did*', &c.: *Spence*, p. 193.

l. 36. *Dr. Radcliffe*: see above, note to p. 126, l. 25.

PAGE 142, l. 2. *Ariosto*: a great Italian poet (1474–1533), author of *Orlando Furioso*.

l. 3. *the Cid*: [Arabic 'seid'=lord] a famous Spanish warrior (*c.* 1040–99) who fought against the Moors. He is hardly ever spoken of by his name—Ruy Diaz de Bivar. He has been the hero of many poems and tragedies, one of the most noted of the latter being by Corneille.

Chimène (Ximena) was the wife of the Cid; she was the daughter of a Spanish Count.

Armida was a beautiful maiden in Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, who succeeded by magic arts in enticing Rinaldo away from the First Crusade, till he was won back by his comrades.

l. 17. *about the year 1705*: though not printed till 1709 (see above, note to p. 134, l. 16), Pope's *Pastorals* were all written before 1706—he said two years earlier—and were handed about and admired by the literary circle of the day.

l. 26. *Mr. Curll*: a piratical bookseller, infamous for the slanderous and indecent works he published. Arbuthnot said that his biographies added a new terror to death. Of course Pope quarrelled with him, and put him into the *Dunciad*.

PAGE 143, l. 7. *à deux fins*: 'to serve two ends'.

l. 20. *Mr. Fenton*: Elijah Fenton (1683–1730) together with William Broome wrote a great part of Pope's translation of the *Odyssey*. They copied his style so admirably that it is hardly possible to distinguish how much is theirs. Fenton's epitaph in Easthamstead Church, Berks., was written by Pope; see next page, l. 6.

l. 40. *further remarks on Waller*: Fenton had edited Waller's poems in 1729.

l. 43. *Oppian*: a Greek poet of the second century A.D.

PAGE 144, l. 2. *apprêté*: 'dressed up'.

l. 18. *Earl of Burlington*: this was Richard Boyle (1695–1753), third Earl of Burlington and fourth Earl of Cork. He was much interested in architecture, music, and gardening.

l. 19. *August, 1714*: Messrs. Elwin and Courthope assign this letter to 1716. See below, note to p. 147, l. 9.

l. 25. *a stonehorse*: 'a stallion'.

l. 40. *Mr. Oldmixon*: John Oldmixon (1673–1742) was a voluminous writer of histories, political pamphlets, poems, and plays; he contributed largely to *The Medley* during the ten months of its existence (1710–11). The debt mentioned was very possibly in connexion with the reprint of these papers, which proved a financial failure.

l. 46. *an Elzevir Virgil*: the Elzevirs were a famous family of Dutch printers of the seventeenth century, who printed over a thousand classical texts. Really good Elzevirs are now very rare, but, whatever be their condition or rarity, they are, says

Mr. Andrew Lang, 'regarded by novelists as the great prize of the book collector.'

PAGE **145**, l. 11. *old Jacob*: i.e. Jacob Tonson.

l. 38. *by his Timothy's*: William Oldisworth (whom Pope here and two lines above calls 'Oldsworth') published through Lintot in 1709 *A Dialogue between Timothy and Philatheus*, a theological work in three volumes.

l. 40. *Dr. King*: William King, D.C.L. (1663–1712), was a sufficiently versatile writer; he published through Lintot *The Art of Cookery* in 1708, and the following year *The Art of Love*.

l. 41. *Sir Richard*: sc. Blackmore, who in 1700 published his *Paraphrases on Job*. His poem *Creation* was warmly praised by Addison and Dr. Johnson; the latter edited his poems and wrote his *Life*.

PAGE **146**, l. 18. *S——*: this is shown by Lintot's Account Book to have been Dr. George Sewel, a controversialist and hack-writer, who helped to translate Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in 1717.

l. 22. *Creech*, Thomas (1659–1701), published a verse translation of Lucretius in 1682, of which Dryden spoke highly. Creech was for some time head master of Sherborne, and afterwards vicar of Welwyn, Herts.; he ultimately hanged himself either from money difficulties or a love trouble.

PAGE **147**, l. 9. *Lord Lansdowne*: George Granville or Grenville, Baron Lansdowne (1667–1735), was Treasurer of the Household in the last year of Queen Anne. Being suspected of complicity in a plot to raise Cornwall for the Pretender, he was imprisoned in the Tower in September 1715; but one year and five months later he was released without trial.

l. 17. *Lord Carleton*: Henry Boyle, Baron Carleton (d. 1725), was the uncle of the Earl of Burlington. He is mentioned above, p. 70, l. 15; he was Chancellor of the Exchequer (1701–8), and then a Secretary of State for two years, being replaced by St. John. Middleton Stoney is some ten miles north of Oxford.

l. 28. *intended for the press*: the first part of *Gulliver's Travels* appeared the following year—1726; the second early in 1727. Swift's suggestion that the printer might endanger his ears is hardly to be taken seriously; the satire, though biting, was too general in its application to be made the subject of a legal prosecution.

l. 34. *seen, without reading*: i.e. whom you have seen, I do not say whom you have read.

l. 42. *Counsellor*: an old-fashioned term for a barrister.

PAGE **148**, l. 2. *Peterborough*: Charles Mordaunt, third Earl (1658–1735), was the English general in Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession. Macaulay terms him the most extraordinary character of his age. For more about him see below, p. 150.

l. 5. *animal rationale*: it was Quintilian (v. x. 56) who defined man as a reasoning animal; no one who has made an intelligent study of the human race or what are called the lower animals, will be prepared to accept the definition; or Swift's either, that man is an animal capable of reason, for some are evidently not.

l. 38. *paullo minus ab angelis*: Ps. viii. 5.

PAGE **149**, l. 6. *stamp*: in the first edition '*cachet*'.

l. 32. *White's*: see above, note to p. 119, l. 15.

l. 33. *the Patriot King*: Bolingbroke wrote *The Idea of a Patriot King* in 1738, but he did not print it till 1749, and then without his name. Lord Chesterfield said that till he read this work he did not know the extent and power of the English language.

PAGE **150**, l. 4. *Barcelona*: this was taken by Peterborough in 1705.

Peterborough's letters: Pope said they 'would contain very pretty and lively things, but were apt to be too gay and wandering' (*Spence*, p. 294).

l. 16. *Amadis*: Amadis de Gaul was a legendary hero of romance whose adventures are chiefly known through the French version of Herberay (1540), but Professor Saintsbury says the legend probably originally came from Portugal.

l. 17. *he is said*: in a letter of Walpole's to Sir Horace Mann, April 14, 1679, he speaks of 'old Peterborough, that bragged of having seen more kings and postilions than any man in Europe'. I have not found the 'brag'.

l. 19. *as his poet said*: Pope, in an undated letter to Swift, which has been assigned to November 1735. Why Pope is called Peterborough's poet I know not.

l. 34. *pluralities*: properly used of the permission to hold more than one benefice at a time. Peterborough, like Pope, was a Roman Catholic, if he was anything.

PAGE **151**, l. 2. *some one said*: see *Spence*, p. 316.

PAGE **152**, l. 2. *Budgell*, Eustace (1686–1737), was a cousin of Addison's, who wrote thirty-seven numbers of the *Spectator*; later on he degenerated into a Grub Street writer, and ended by taking his own life.

Tickell: see above, note to p. 44, l. 9.

Philips: see above, note to p. 134, l. 16.

Carey, Henry (d. 1743), was an illegitimate son of George Savile, Marquis of Halifax. He wrote several plays, and was the author of 'Sally in our Alley'. 'God save the King' has often, though wrongly, been attributed to him.

l. 4. *Duroc*: Napoleon's favourite officer, who was killed by his side in Saxony in 1813.

Hardy was the captain of the *Victory*, in whose arms Nelson lay dying.

l. 10. *Spadille and Manille*: the first and second trumps in the game of Ombre.

l. 19. *Wycherley's decrepit reputation*: William Wycherley (1640–1715), the earliest and most depraved of the Restoration dramatists, was the author of *The Country Wife*, *The Plain Dealer*, and other comedies. He was sixty-four when Pope, then aged sixteen, was introduced to him, and he made abundant use of his young friend's genius in touching up his verses. Before long, however, Pope's comments on the feeble lines submitted to him grew so trenchant that Wycherley took umbrage, and begged for the return of his verses. Pope at once complied, advising the author to keep to prose for the future. This, at all events, is Pope's version of the coolness between them, but he is a very unreliable authority.

l. 36. *Mr. Edward Blount*, of Blagdon House, Devonshire, was a distant connexion of the Blounts of Mapledurham, mentioned on p. 162 below, to which family Martha and Teresa belonged. Both the first edition and the second address this letter 'to Mr. Alcourt'.

PAGE 153, l. 43. '*Servetur ad imum*', &c.: 'Let uniformity and consistency be maintained from beginning to end' (*Ars Poetica*, 126–7).

PAGE 154, l. 18. *The best satire that ever has been penned*: i.e. the character of Addison as given below, p. 156.

l. 21. *without a flaw*: but Thackeray above, p. 69, l. 12, speaks of Addison's 'little weakness for wine' as his only fault.

PAGE 155, l. 2. *Bernadotte*: one of Napoleon's generals, who was elected Crown Prince of Sweden in 1810, and fought against Napoleon three years later.

l. 5. *in the Spectator*: No. 256.

l. 6. *the little*: in the first edition 'their little'.

PAGE 156, l. 10. *But were there one*, &c.: from the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, which is by way of Prologue to the *Satires* (ll. 193–214).

l. 15. *like the Turk*: in Eastern countries it has often been held that the safest way of securing the occupant of the throne in undisturbed possession is the murder of all his nearest relations.

l. 18. *Damn with faint praise*: this is appropriated from the Prologue to Wycherley's *Plain Dealer*, 'And with faint praises one another damn.'

l. 26. *Like Cato*: M. Porcius Cato (of Utica), whom Addison chose for the hero of his play, was the chief upholder of the Senate in the Second Civil War. The sting in this line lies in the fact that it is a quotation from Pope's Prologue to Addison's *Cato*, written twenty-two years earlier:—

> While Cato gives his little Senate laws,
> What bosom beats not in his Country's cause?

l. 28. *raise*: 'extol'.

l. 31. *Atticus*: in the first edition of the satire this appeared as 'Addison'; the alteration was made by Pope when the *Epistle* was published in 1734.

l. 32. '*I sent the verses*', &c.: the exact words are given in the footnote on p. 155 above. It appears from Messrs. Elwin and Courthope's edition of Pope that this statement of his was entirely untrue; the character of Atticus first appeared as a fragment in 1723, four years after the death of Addison, in a miscellany of Curll's called *Cythereia*. Pope, being anxious to escape the popular odium which attaches to those who speak unpleasant truths about the dead, appears to have 'faked' evidence to prove that the satire was written in 1715. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Lord Oxford say they saw the lines in Addison's lifetime, but there is only Pope's unsupported statement—which can hardly be looked on as evidence—to show that Addison ever saw them.

l. 35. *Johnson recounts an interview*: *Life of Pope*, p. 63 (1790–1).

PAGE **157**, l. 2. *St. Sebastian*: martyred under Diocletian (A.D. 284–305) by being bound to a tree and shot at with arrows.

l. 14. *Godolphin*, Sidney, afterwards Earl Godolphin, was Treasurer in 1702 when Marlborough was in power, but fell with him. He is mentioned above, p. 70.

l. 15. *writing to Swift*: dated March 29, 1731. Dawley was the country residence of Bolingbroke; it was near Cranford in Middlesex.

l. 24. *Yahoos*: the disgusting bipeds whom Gulliver encountered on his Fourth Voyage. See above, p. 31. Swift and Gay were on a visit to Pope at this time. The three are called 'Triumvirs of Parnassus', as being the three rulers in the realm of the Muses. Mount Parnassus, in the north of Greece, was one of the Muses' favourite haunts.

PAGE **158**, l. 3. *Thomson*, James (1700–48), author of *The Seasons*.

l. 15. *Atterbury*, Francis (1662–1732), Bishop of Rochester, was brought to trial in 1723 as a Jacobite and banished. Pope was called as a witness to Atterbury's character and mode of life; he 'had but few words to utter, and in those few he made several blunders' (Johnson).

l. 16. '*Homer in a nutshell*': in a letter of Pope's to Atterbury, dated March 19, 1721–2, he writes, 'I have another chariot besides that little one you laughed at when you compared me to Homer in a nutshell.' Pliny says (*Nat. Hist.* vii. 21) that the twenty-four books of the *Iliad* were written out and enclosed in a nutshell.

l. 17. *Mr. Dryden*: his actual words were 'Dryden was not a very genteel man' (*Spence*, p. 261).

l. 26. *with the exception of Swift*: this is an unwarranted aspersion on Swift; his *Journal to Stella* shows that while he was in London his society was eagerly courted by many of the great ladies and most of the great men of the Court.

l. 28. *Prior must be excepted*: see above, p. 123, ll. 10 and 24.

l. 38. *Tom Southerne*: see above, note to p. 60, l. 34.

l. 41. *whom Dryden calls*: in the *Epistle to John Driden*, l. 107.

Page **159**, l. 1. *whom Steele has described*: in the Dedication to *The Lover*, for which see above, p. 100, l. 2.

l. 2. *Codrington*, Christopher (1668–1710), a remarkable combination of soldier, scholar, and wit. In some lines which he addressed to Garth on his *Dispensary* comes the couplet:—

> Thou hast no faults, or I no faults can spy;
> Thou art all beauty, or all blindness I.

l. 4. *the best of Christians*: in *A Farewell to London in the year 1715* (it was not printed till 1756), Pope writes:—

> And Garth, the best good Christian he,
> Although he knows it not.

l. 18. *Dr. Woodward's account*, &c.: *An Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth*, by Dr. John Woodward, appeared in 1695. Arbuthnot's criticism was two years later.

l. 21. *the Scriblerus Club*: founded by Swift in 1714. Besides the Dean and Arbuthnot, Pope, Bolingbroke, Parnell, Atterbury, and Gay belonged to it. The object of the club was to satirize all forms of literary incompetence; the pseudonym of its members was 'Martinus Scriblerus', taken from Lord Oxford's name for Swift, whom he used to call 'Dr. Martin, because martin is a sort of a swallow and so is a swift' (*Journal to Stella*, October 11, 1711).

Page **160**, l. 1. *the Alcibiades of his age*: Alcibiades, the famous Athenian politician and general (d. 404 B.C.) was as noted for his insolence, caprice, and free-thinking as for his talents and good looks. Swift in his *Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry*, written in June 1715, says, 'He [Bolingbroke] was fond of mixing pleasure and business, and of being esteemed excellent at both; upon which account he had a great respect for the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius.'

Page **161**, l. 3. *Jervas*, Charles (? 1675–1739), a portrait painter of no great talent, despite Pope's eulogy in his *Epistle to Mr. Jervas*.

Richardson, Jonathan (? 1665–1745), noted as a portrait painter and writer on Art.

l. 5. *and for whose picture*: in this amazing sentence—probably the worst constructed that Thackeray ever wrote—the 'and who' (in itself a solecism) refers to 'Richardson', the 'and whose' to 'mother'. Moreover, in l. 6, Thackeray wrote

'thanked Jervas' and not 'thanked Richardson'; this appears in both editions. As the sentence stood it would mean that Pope asked Jervas for a portrait of Richardson, which I cannot find that he ever did. If Thackeray intended to refer to the letter to Richardson given in the footnote, 'delightful' seems a strange adjective to apply to that rather pathetic effusion. Pope's love for his mother at least was genuine, however full his life was of shams and treacheries; and Thackeray would have been the last to take delight in the sad outpouring of that love over a mother's dead body. A further grammatical blunder in the sentence is 'was' for 'were' (l. 7); this appears in both editions, though it has been piously altered by Lady Ritchie, who has also substituted 'Richardson' for 'Jervas' in l. 6, as I have done, failing to find any other solution for this unfortunate sentence.

l. 8. *Kneller*, Sir Godfrey (1646–1723), by birth a German, came to England in the reign of Charles II, and was taken into favour by him and his next three successors. He was knighted by William III.

l. 39. *a Guinea trader*: i.e. a slave merchant.

PAGE 162, l. 8. *decrees*: Thackeray presumably means his 'proposals' or prospectuses. The practice of printing by subscription was not uncommon in those days. Milton had so printed his *Paradise Lost* in 1688, and Dryden his *Virgil* in 1697; the 1713 collected edition of the *Tatler* was also printed by subscription. It was in 1713 that Pope offered his *Iliad* to subscribers in six volumes quarto for six guineas; 654 sets were subscribed for. Pope also received £1,200 from Lintot—who provided gratis the copies for subscribers and for presentation—for the right to sell any other copies the public might require. The bargain being concluded, Pope set to work on the translation, and said at first that he 'wished anybody would hang him' (*Spence*, p. 218). Despite the help he got from Fenton, Broome, and others, the work was not finished till 1718.

l. 16. *says she*: the letter is dated merely 'Tuesday 12 o'c.', but it must have been written in February 1719–20.

l. 26. *dear*: in the first edition it is 'deare'.

PAGE 163, l. 3. *in Spence*: see *Spence*, pp. 267–8; the exact words are, ''Tis most certain that nobody ever loved money so little as my brother.' 'I believe nobody ever studied so hard as my brother did in his youth.' 'My brother does not seem to know what fear is.'

l. 11. *at Twyford*: 'My brother was whipped and ill-used at Twiford school for his satire on his master, and taken from thence on that account' (*ib.* p. 206).

l. 18. *his faithful dog*: from the *Essay on Man*, i, 111. 'His faithful dog shall bear him company.'

l. 19. *I had rather die*: 'he thought it better to die than to live in fear of such rascals'; told by Spence (p. 268).

l. 27. *Spence describes him*: *ib.* p. 319.

l. 37. *said Spence*: *ib.* p. 321.

whom Johnson despised: 'JOHNSON: He was a weak conceited man. BOSWELL: A good scholar, sir? JOHNSON: Why no, sir. BOSWELL: He was a pretty scholar. JOHNSON: You have about reached him.' (*Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides*, October 15.)

PAGE **164**, l. 14. *the famous Greek picture*: this was by Timanthes, a contemporary of Zeuxis, and represented the sacrifice of Iphigenia, her father being depicted with a mantle drawn over his face. Both in ancient and modern times critics have hotly debated whether this was a touch of consummate art or a mean evasion of a difficulty.

l. 26. '*If you take*', &c.: this is inaccurately quoted from a letter to *The Daily Journal* of May 11, 1728, which possibly is by Dennis, but is signed merely 'A. B.'. It concludes with a list of all such persons 'whether dead or living who are abused in the three volumes lately published by Pope & Company'. The list begins with 'ALMIGHTY GOD, the King, the Queen, His late Majesty, Both Houses of Parliament', &c.; and contains, among some fifty others, the names of Shakespeare, Garth, Sir William Temple, Addison, and Steele.

l. 37. *Lord Hervey*: John Hervey (1696–1743), son of the first Earl of Bristol, was created Baron Hervey in 1733, and seven years later succeeded Godolphin as Lord Privy Seal. He was a vegetarian—a rare phenomenon in those days. Lord Wharncliffe mentions him in his *Introductory Anecdotes to Lady M. W. Montagu's Works*, vol. i, p. 65 (1837):—'It has been handed down as a proof of the extreme to which Lord Hervey carried his effeminate nicety, that, when asked at dinner whether he would have some beef, he answered, "Beef? Oh, no!—Faugh! Don't you know I never eat beef, nor *horse*, nor any of those things?"' It is interesting to-day to note that Lord Wharncliffe adds, 'Could any mortal have said this in earnest?' The origin of the quarrel between Pope and Lord Hervey is obscure, but it lasted for ten years.

l. 40. *Let Sporus tremble*, &c.: from the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, l. 305. These lines precede a very bitter and scurrilous attack upon Sporus.

PAGE **165**, l. 27. *One of Cibber's pamphlets*: this was *Another Occasional letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope*, &c., January 1743–4. The anecdote was told to Dr. Johnson by Richardson; see Johnson's *Life of Pope*, p. 131 (1790–1).

l. 34. *Horace*: in *Satires* I. i and *Epistles* I. xix, Horace defends himself against the attacks of his critics; but it is not easy to find proof of his 'writhing'.

PAGE **166**, l. 10. *Tibbald*: otherwise Lewis Theobald (1688–

1774); ho is best known as a critic of Shakespeare, whose works he edited. He was the original hero of the *Dunciad* (see above, note to p. 120, l. 31), being selected for that honour for the freedom with which he had criticized Pope's edition of Shakespeare.

Welsted, Leonard, was a voluminous writer who had assailed Pope in *The Triumvirate* (1717). In the *Dunciad* Pope thus addresses him:

> Flow, Welsted, flow! like thine inspirer, Beer;
> Tho' stale, not ripe; tho' thin, yet never clear,

—a gratuitous libel on the national beverage, however applicable to the scribbler. The first edition reads 'Webster'; Dr. James Webster (1689–1755) was the editor of the *Weekly Miscellany*. He is mentioned in Book II of the *Dunciad*.

l. 23. *poor Dennis's garret*: in *The Narrative of Dr. Robert Norris* (1713), mentioned above, p. 154.

l. 24. *gives instructions*: in *A Farther Account of the most deplorable condition of Mr. Edmund Curll* (1716). Both these are printed in Swift's works.

l. 26. *Petty France*: in Westminster, now called York Street.

l. 27. *Budge Row*: off Cannon Street, in the City of London.

Page **167**, l. 16. *the poor-devil author*: in the first edition 'the poor devil, the author'.

l. 25. *She*: sc. Dullness.

l. 31. *Medea*: daughter of the king of Colchis. She was a famous sorceress, and by her magic charms enabled Jason to win the Golden Fleece. One of the usual effects of magic incantation is said to be the darkening of the heavenly bodies; in savage countries eclipses are supposed to be brought about by magic.

l. 33. *Argus*: see above, note to p. 56, l. 5.

Page **168**, l. 4. *Shrinks to her second cause*: Cf. *Dunciad*, iv. 472:—

> till we doubt of God;
> Make Nature still encroach upon his plan;
> And shove him off as far as e'er we can:
> Thrust some Mechanic Cause into his place.

l. 11. *Anarch*: enemy to all government.

l. 23. *Truth, the champion*: since Thackeray wrote this glowing eulogy the character of Pope has undergone a good deal of investigation at the hands of his biographers, from which it has emerged in a very mangled condition. No one would now dream of regarding Pope as a champion of the truth or in any sense a Hero.

PAGE 170, l. 4. *there must always be in the story a . . . hero*: it is worth noting that the sub-title of *Vanity Fair*—published 1846–8—is *A Novel without a Hero.*

l. 10. *honest folks come by their own*: from a saying attributed to Sir Matthew Hale, the eminent judge, 'When rogues fall out, honest men come by their own'.

l. 18. *Jonathan Wild*: Fielding's *Life* of this notorious scoundrel is enriched by many fictitious circumstances. Wild was the leader of a gang of criminals, acting as the receiver of the goods they stole, and handing the thieves over to the police when it suited his purpose. He was hanged in 1725; Fielding's *Life* of him appeared eighteen years later.

l. 19. *apologue*: 'story with a moral'.

l. 31. *Coleridge speaks*, &c.: this and many other interesting passages are only to be found in the weekly numbers of *The Friend*, being omitted in the dreary revised version which Coleridge issued nine years later.

PAGE 172, l. 2. *Goody Two Shoes*: a tale for children published by Newbery, and often attributed to Goldsmith; as it is dull, painfully moral, and quite devoid of humour, the attribution would seem to be incorrect.

l. 10. *Fielding says in Amelia*: Book XII, chap. vii.

l. 20. *Jack Sheppard*: the notorious housebreaker, who was hanged in 1724, at the age of twenty-two.

l. 28. *Draco*: an Athenian law-giver of the seventh century B.C. His laws were said to be written in blood, so many were the offences punishable by death.

PAGE 173, l. 2. *Marlborough House* in Pall Mall was built by Wren for the first duke. It became royal property in 1817. The six pictures, painted in 1745, are now in the National Gallery.

l. 15. *sconces*: supports for candles, fixed to a wall.

l. 16. *on the dogs*: there is no coronet on the dogs in the picture, but in the print it appears on the flank of one dog. The name 'Squanderfield' on the marriage settlement also is found only in the print.

l. 18. *baldaquin*: (or baldachin), 'a canopy'.

l. 26. *the steward*: this, says Mr. Austin Dobson (*Life of Hogarth*, p. 72), is probably the merchant's confidential clerk; he is holding out a mortgage to the earl.

l. 29. *himself*: in the first edition 'his countenance'.

PAGE 174, l. 1. *Andromeda*: she was the daughter of Cepheus and Cassiopeia; her mother was so vain of her daughter's beauty that she pronounced her more lovely than the Nereids; to punish such presumption, Poseidon sent a sea-monster to

ravage the land, and was only induced to withdraw it on condition that Andromeda was given up to the monster. She was accordingly chained to a rock—a subject which has been depicted by innumerable painters—to await the monster's arrival. The usual fairy prince turned up at the right moment in the shape of Perseus, who freed Andromeda, and of course married her. But Andromeda is not represented in any of the pictures; among them is a Cain destroying Abel, a St. Sebastian 'shot full of arrows', a St. Lawrence on the Gridiron, and a David killing Goliath.

Judith: an Israelite woman who murdered Holofernes, captain of the Assyrian host that was invading her country. The tale is told in the *Book of Judith* in the *Apocrypha*.

l. 5. *In the second picture*: this should be the fourth; the second is the drawing-room scene, given below, l. 12 sqq.

l. 14. *the 'Rose'*: see above, note to p. 96, l. 7.

l. 23. *faints*: the label 'laudanum' on the bottle in her hand shows that she has poisoned herself.

l. 39. *Bedlam*: the Priory of St. Mary of Bethlehem was founded in Bishopsgate in the thirteenth century. At the dissolution of the monasteries it was granted by Henry VIII to the mayor and citizens, and shortly after incorporated as a royal foundation for the reception of lunatics. In 1815 it was transferred to Lambeth, where it now stands. The corruption of Bethlehem into Bedlam is at least as old as Shakespeare.

l. 40. *Industry and Idleness*: this series of prints was issued in 1747.

Page **175**, l. 3. *Whittington*: chiefly known as a pantomime hero; he was an historical personage, the son of another Sir Richard of Gloucestershire, and M.P. for London in 1416, besides being —as the bells said—thrice Lord Mayor of London.

l. 4. *the London 'Prentice*: plenty of the old ballads deal with London apprentices, but I cannot find one with this title. Possibly, as Professor Phelps suggests, it is 'The Honour of a London Prentice', given in Ritson's collection of *Ancient Songs and Ballads*. It deals with the days of Queen Elizabeth.

l. 5. *Moll Flanders*: the name of a courtesan, thief, and convict, whose life was written by Defoe in 1722.

l. 8. *halfpenny-under-the-hat*: if one may judge by *N.E.D.* this is the only place in English literature where this game is referred to. Presumably it was a kind of thimble-rigging.

l. 15. *marrow-bones and cleavers*: the butcher-boys used to parade the town on festive occasions, striking the metal of their meat-choppers with marrow-bones by way of music.

l. 34. *trainbands*: the militia of the City of London.

l. 37. *the King*: this is Frederick Prince of Wales accompanied by the Princess of Wales. See *Hogarth's Works* by Nichols and Steevens, vol. ii, p. 188.

PAGE 176, l. 12. *a splendid marble arch*: this clumsy edifice was first erected at Buckingham Palace in 1830; it was removed to its present site at the north-east corner of Hyde Park in 1851.

l. 14. *abode*: in the first edition 'abodes'.

l. 18. *apotheosis*: 'exaltation to the height of glory', literally 'deification'.

l. 20. *broadside*: properly a sheet of paper printed only on one side; as ballads were generally so printed, the word came to be used for a ballad.

l. 28. *Dick Turpin*: see note to p. 83, l. 19.

l. 29. *Squire Western*: a quite remarkably coarse, foul-mouthed and selfish specimen of the eighteenth-century country gentleman. He was the father of the heroine in *Tom Jones*.

l. 30. *the 'Hercules Pillars'*: a small inn near Hyde Park Corner. See *Tom Jones*, Book XVI, chap. ii.

l. 34. *pretty infantry*: this use of the word for 'infants' was not always humorous. In the seventeenth century it appears in a hymn.

PAGE 177, l. 17. *bagnio*: see above, note to p. 88, l. 34.

l. 18. *Bridewell*: a prison for females near Blackfriars, demolished in 1863. The preparation of hemp for ropes, canvas, &c., still forms part of the occupation of the inmates of prisons and the casual wards of workhouses.

l. 23. *chaired*: this is the reading of the third edition (1858); the two former editions have 'cheered'. The print 'Chairing the Members' is one of a set of four issued 1755–8. Thackeray says 'one of Walpole's members', because there is only one visible in the print, but the shadow of another is given on a wall.

l. 27. *white Hanoverian horse*: the badge of the House of Brunswick.

l. 29. *Johnny Cope*: General Sir John Cope was defeated by the Young Pretender at Prestonpans near Edinburgh in 1745; he rode from the field of battle so fast that he is said to have been the only general who brought the first tidings of his own defeat. He was avenged even months later by the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden.

l. 33. *Parson Adams*: a delightfully honest and simple-minded country parson from Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*.

l. 35. *'Angel'*: near St. Clement's in the Strand.

l. 38. *hanger*: usually a short sword hung from a loop attached to the belt; here apparently put for the belt.

PAGE 178, l. 1. *Humphry Clinker* at the opening of the story of that name was a postilion.

l. 4. *Jack Hatchway* was not a soldier, but a retired naval officer in *Peregrine Pickle*.

l. 5. *Lismahago*: a retired army lieutenant in *Humphry Clinker*; Scott took him for his model in drawing Major Dalgetty. See the Introduction to the *Legend of Montrose*.

l. 8. *Steele charmingly described*: there is no such girl in the *Guardian*, so far as I can discover. There is a May song in No. 124, but it is not sung by any one, and is of a decidedly comic character. Moreover it was not Nestor Ironside of the *Guardian*, but Isaac Bickerstaff of the *Tatler* who lived in Shire Lane (for which see above, p. 109, l. 39). Lastly, Hogarth's print of the 'Enraged Musician' appeared in 1741, and the *Guardian* expired in 1713, which is more than 'a few years before'.

l. 13. *King Richard*: Richard III was the part in which Garrick made his name at the age of twenty-five; Hogarth painted and engraved his portrait in this character in 1746.

l. 14. *Macheath and Polly*: from *The Beggar's Opera*.

l. 16. *sat on the stage*: chairs were provided at the wings for a few select spectators.

l. 21. *with whom*: i.e. on whose side. Random, as Thackeray says, had enlisted in the French army, and so fought against his country and its German allies at Dettingen (1743), where the French were defeated.

l. 24. *the student*, &c.: this is, I suppose, the print 'Scholars at a Lecture' (1736).

l. 25. *Broughton the boxer*: John Broughton (1705–89) is usually considered the father of British pugilism; combats before his time having been usually decided by backsword or quarter-staff. His portrait was painted by Hogarth, in what year is not known.

Sarah Malcolm was executed for murder in 1733. She was painted by Hogarth in the condemned cell.

l. 26. *Simon Lovat*: executed in 1747 for complicity in the Jacobite rising of 1745. Hogarth painted him at St. Albans, on his way to stand his trial in London.

John Wilkes: (1727–97) he was the founder of the *North Briton*, in No. 45 of which he published a famous criticism of George III, which led to his arrest. He was expelled from Parliament for a scandalous *Essay on Woman*, and was afterwards outlawed and imprisoned. Later on he was readmitted to Parliament, and became in succession alderman, sheriff, and Lord Mayor. For Hogarth's portrait of him see below, p. 184, l. 25.

PAGE 179, l. 4. *in 1697*: Thackeray wrote '1698'. The true date was November 10, 1697. He was born in Bartholomew Close.

l. 36. *in twelves*: i.e. each set consisted of twelve prints.

l. 41. "*The Taste of the Town*": this is generally known as 'Masquerades and Operas. Burlington Gate' (1724).

l. 43. *vending at half-price*: to stop this piracy was passed the Act of 1735, which gave designers the copyright in their designs. This Act is often spoken of as 'Hogarth's Act', it having been mainly through his representations that it became law.

PAGE 180, l. 8. *serjeant-painter*: an old-fashioned term for court painter. Cf. serjeant-surgeon.

l. 12. *Conversation Pieces*: paintings of groups of persons taken from ordinary life.

l. 18. *plate against Pope*: called 'The Man of Taste'.

l. 30. *St. Bartholomew's Hospital*: these two pictures were painted in 1736.

l. 46. *Vanloo*: Jean Baptiste van Loo (or Vanloo), a French painter who in 1737 came to England, where he soon became the most popular portrait-painter of the day, to the great indignation of the native talent.

PAGE 181, l. 4. *by opposing end it*: *Hamlet* III. i. 60.

l. 12. *the Academy in St. Martin's Lane*: in 1734 Hogarth joined with a number of other artists to hire a room where thirty or forty persons could copy from the nude; this academy was still flourishing thirty years later.

l. 21. *the Academy*: the Royal Academy of Arts—to give it its full title—was founded in 1768 by George III, Sir Joshua Reynolds being its first president.

l. 22. *the three great estates of the empire*: no doubt Hogarth meant—as do most people who use this phrase—the Crown and the two Houses of Parliament. The real three estates in this country are the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons.

l. 44. *his 'Sigismunda'*: now in the National Gallery; his wife was the model.

PAGE 182, l. 14. *Churchill*, Charles (1731–64), a poet and satirist, perhaps best known for his *Rosciad*, a satire on contemporary actors.

l. 17. *'The Times'*: this appeared September 1762, and represented Europe in flames with Mr. Pitt fanning the fire with bellows and the Duke of Newcastle wheeling up a barrow-load of *Monitors* and *North Britons* as fuel. Wilkes replied in the *North Briton* for the following week—No. 17. Wilkes's portrait came out in May 1763, and Churchill's in the following August.

l. 21. *One*: sc. Wilkes.

l. 29. *A Brutus*: 'a saviour of his country'. Lucius Junius Brutus had been instrumental in driving out the Kings of Rome (509 B.C.).

PAGE 183, l. 1. *his friend*: this is from the 1858 edition; the first and second have 'friends'.

l. 3. *wooden shoes*: see above, note to p. 23, l. 18.

l. 7. *Correggio*: Antonio Allegri, born at Correggio in North Italy in 1494, is commonly called by the name of his birthplace. The 'Sigismunda' then ascribed to him—but which, says Mr. Austin Dobson, is really by Fran. Furini—had been sold in 1758 for £400.

the Caracci: two brothers and a cousin, all born at Bologna in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

l. 12. *altar piece at St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol*: this is in three compartments, and was painted in 1756. It is now in the Fine Arts Academy at Clifton. The church is famous for the Rowley chest, where Chatterton professed to have found his MSS.

l. 13. *Paul before Felix*: painted for Lincoln's Inn Hall in 1748.

l. 41. *Cheselden*, William (1688–1752), a famous surgeon and anatomist.

l. 43. *Dick's Coffee-house*: on the south side of Fleet Street, near Temple Bar.

l. 44. *Greene*, Maurice (? 1696–1755), was successively organist at St. Paul's, organist at the Chapel Royal, Professor of Music at Cambridge, and Master of the King's Band of Music.

PAGE 184, l. 3. *Swift could not see the difference*: according to Dr. Ward the epigram on the feuds between the admirers of Handel and those of Bononcini is incorrectly assigned to Swift; it is really by Pope, and runs:—

> Strange! all this difference should be
> 'Twixt Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee!

l. 17. *Liston*, John (1776–1846), was a famous comic actor; one of the most successful of his parts was that of Paul Pry.

l. 35. *Florimel*: i. e. a mere counterfeit. Florimel was a damsel in the *Faerie Queene*, of great beauty but extreme timidity. A witch made a counterfeit maiden in her likeness, who vanished when confronted with the real Florimel (Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, III. iv. 8).

PAGE 185, l. 19. *A queer account*, &c.: the title is *An account of what seemed most remarkable in the five days' peregrination of the five following persons. . . . Begun on Saturday 27 May 1732 and finished on the 31st of the same month* (London, 1782). It was written by Ebenezer Forrest, an attorney, who was one of the five.

l. 21. *Mr. Pickwick and his companions* started from the 'Golden Cross' in 'The Commodore' coach bound for Rochester on May 13, 1827. (See chap. ii).

PAGE 186, l. 25. *flip*: a mixture of beer and spirit, warmed and sweetened.

l. 26. *tradesmen*: i. e. they behaved as such. Tothall, a draper, was the only one in trade, three of the others being painters, and the fourth an attorney.

l. 31. *Dr. Johnson made four lines*: it is thanks to this note of Mrs. Piozzi's that these lines are so often misquoted; Johnson wrote:—

> The Hand of Art here torpid lies
> That traced the essential form of Grace;
> Here death has closed the curious eyes
> That saw the manners in the face.

Garrick, after writing his epitaph, submitted it to Johnson, who criticized it in his reply of December 12, 1771, and suggested the version, four lines of which are given above. The final form the epitaph took in Garrick's hand was:—

Farewel, great Painter of Mankind!
Who reach'd the noblest point of Art,
Whose pictur'd Morals charm the Mind,
And through the Eye correct the Heart.

If Genius fire thee, Reader, stay:
If Nature touch thee, drop a tear;
If neither move thee, turn away,
For Hogarth's honour'd dust lies here.

PAGE 187, l. 7. *Hudson's*: Thomas Hudson (1701–79) succeeded Jervas and Richardson as the most popular portrait-painter of his day. Reynolds studied under him for two years.

l. 15. *All men are liars*: Psalm cxvi. 11. It is worth noting that the Revised Version has 'are a lie', which yields an entirely different sense.

l. 35. *grubs*: i.e. Grub Street writers, for whom see above, p. 11, l. 21.

l. 45. *could not enjoy it*: people could not be arrested for debt on Sunday.

PAGE 188, l. 21. *flapped*: 'with the brim turned down'.

PAGE 190, l. 13. *irritable tribe*: 'genus irritabile vatum', Horace, *Epis.* II. ii. 102.

l. 16. *Bolingbroke's metaphysical works*: Bolingbroke did not write these till his political career was over; he had made no study of philosophy till he was over forty. His philosophical works—the greatest of which is his *Letters on the Study of History*—were first published in 1753, two years after his death.

l. 38. *Shoe Lane* runs from Fleet Street to Holborn; there was formerly a cockpit there, much frequented by the nobility.

PAGE 191, l. 11. *the King's Bench* was a debtors' prison in Southwark; its liberties were the district immediately outside the prison where the prisoners were allowed to reside on payment of certain fees. If they wished to go beyond the liberties they were accompanied by an officer of the Court to ensure their return.

PAGE 192, l. 6. *cadets*: 'younger sons'.

l. 27. *Dr. Johnson*: in 1737 Johnson, then aged twenty-eight, came to London 'to try his fate with a tragedy'; this was the half-finished *Irene*, which was only produced in 1749 (*Boswell*, anno 1737).

l. 32. *Carthagena*: in the war with Spain, which was declared in 1739, Admiral Vernon attacked Carthagena in Columbia, the strongest Spanish settlement in America. The assault, which

Smollett describes in *Roderick Random*, was repulsed with great loss.

l. 37. *1747*: this is the date given by Mr. Thomas Seccombe in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Mr. Austin Dobson in a note to the World's Classics edition of Scott's *Lives of the Novelists*, says the marriage probably took place before Smollett left Jamaica.

Page **193**, l. 17. *Rochfort expedition*: in 1757 an expedition sailed from England with orders to make a descent on Rochefort, a town a little to the south of La Rochelle. Owing to a difference of opinion between the general and the admiral the town had time to fortify itself so strongly that the English fleet returned without attempting its capture.

l. 19. *said our author*: as Scott quotes these words, they are presumably in the *Critical Review*, but I have been unable to find them. There are reviews of several pamphlets on the Rochefort expedition, which not unnaturally brought a good deal of criticism on the government. According to *Dict. Nat. Biog.* and David Hannay's *Life of Hogarth*, the article for which Smollett was put on his trial is in vol. v, p. 439 (May 1758); and this is couched in a much milder strain than the language quoted by Scott, the strongest remark being 'If the persons employed on this service were afraid . . .'.

l. 28. *an owl*: this remark about Dr. Grainger is in vol. vii, p. 88.

l. 30. *Dr. Moore's biography*: prefixed to his edition of Smollett (1797). The tale is told in vol. i, p. cxxxvi, but Scott's transcription of it has two or three verbal variations.

Page **194**, l. 18. *Dr. Caius*: a French physician from *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

l. 20. *Major Dalgetty*: from Scott's *Legend of Montrose*.

l. 22. *Humphry Clinker* was Smollett's last work, and was published in 1771, before his death. As a humorous and satirical description of the manners of the time, and as a picture-gallery both of persons and places, it is probably unrivalled. Its epistolary form too admirably illustrates the different effects that the same incident may produce on different people—a useful lesson for the student of human nature. It is, moreover, almost entirely free from the coarseness of language and incident which is to be found in Smollett's other novels. But it may be doubted whether any one to-day will find it 'laughable', and it is about as deficient in 'story' as a novel can well be.

l. 34. *Monte Nero*: Scott, following Moore, wrote 'Monte Novo', an error which is corrected in all the editions of these *Lectures*.

l. 37. *sweetest in the close*: *Richard II*, II. i. 12:—

> The setting sun, and music at the close,
> As the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last.

PAGE 195, l. 2. *Bladud's well*: Bath, according to the legend, was built by Bladud, father of King Lear.

l. 10. *Captain Booth*: the hero in *Amelia*.

PAGE 196, l. 1. *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, &c.: the letter is addressed to the Countess of Bute, and dated September 22, 1755:—'I am sorry for H. Fielding's death, not only as I shall read no more of his writings, but I believe he lost more than others, as no man enjoyed life more than he did, though few had less reason to do so, the highest of his preferment being raking in the lowest sinks of vice and misery. . . . His happy constitution (even when he had with great pains half demolished it) made him forget everything when he was before a venison pasty, or over a flask of champagne, and I am persuaded he has known more happy moments than any prince upon earth. His natural spirits gave him rapture with his cookmaid [see below, p. 203, l. 21 sqq.], and cheerfulness when he was starving in a garret. There was a great similitude between his character and that of Sir Richard Steele. He had the advantage, both in learning and, in my opinion, genius; they both agreed in wanting money in spite of all their friends, and would have wanted it if their hereditary lands had been as extensive as their imagination; yet each of them was so formed for happiness, it is pity he was not immortal.' The letter is quoted in Scott's *Life*, p. 92 (1827).

l. 13. *that Homeric feast*: i. e. prodigious in quantity.

l. 41. *Peregrine Pickle's performances*: this work was issued without the author's name, as was *Roderick Random*. There was much speculation as to the authorship of both.

PAGE 197, l. 11. *as Walpole tells us*: 'Rigby, who had seen him [Fielding] so often come to beg a guinea of Sir C. Williams, and Bathurst, at whose father's he had lived for victuals' (*Letter to George Montagu*, May 18, 1749).

l. 13. *to write theatrical pieces*: between 1727 and 1736 he wrote eighteen comedies and farces, none of which proved a great success. In 1737 he produced the *Historical Register*, in which, without aiming at any special individual, he held up politicians in general to contempt. This very reasonable attitude, however, provoked the government of the day to impose on the stage the Dramatic Censorship under which it still labours. It was no doubt this effective muzzling order which diverted Fielding from the stage to the novel.

l. 15. *Oldfields and Bracegirdles*: for the latter see above, note to p. 48, l. 19. *Anne Oldfield* was born twenty years after her rival, but from about the age of twenty-three she divided the popular favour with the older actress. In 1707 they agreed to settle their rivalry by an appeal to the audience, and accordingly played the same part—Mrs. Brittle in Betterton's *Amorous Widow*—on alternate nights. The preference being given to

Mrs. Oldfield, her rival abandoned the stage. Mrs. Oldfield died in 1730, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

l. 17. *upon one occasion*: this was a scene in *The Wedding Day*; it was Garrick who had to utter the passage about which he had warned Fielding. See Murphy's *Life* prefixed to Fielding's *Works* (p. 50, ed. of 1771).

PAGE 198, l. 38. *Lugct Britannia*, &c.: 'Britain laments her son whom she is not allowed to cherish in her bosom.' According to Mr. Austin Dobson, who has had the inscription verified at Lisbon, the word 'datum' should be 'dari'.

l. 40. *Dr. Warton*: Thomas Warton (1728–90), critic and poet, was Professor of Poetry at Oxford and Poet Laureate. He is best known by his *History of English Poetry*.

PAGE 199, l. 12. *Pamela*, by Samuel Richardson, 'the puny Cockney bookseller', depicts the trials of a virtuous maidservant who comes unscathed through all temptations, and ends by marrying and reforming her master. In ridicule of this edifying tale Fielding drew his hero, Joseph Andrews, as a footman, and subjected his virtue to the same assaults as Pamela had met with, to emerge equally triumphant.

l. 26. *Mohock*: [fr. Mohawk—a tribe of American Indians] a class of aristocratic ruffians who ranged the streets of London at night in the early part of the eighteenth century to the terror of innocent pedestrians.

l. 31. *Mrs. Barbauld*: Anna Letitia Aikin (1743–1825), an English essayist and poet, married the Rev. Rochemont Barbauld, a dissenting minister. She was a literary lady of indefatigable industry; Coleridge termed her 'the pleonasm of nakedness', for she was not only 'bare' but also 'bald'.

PAGE 200, l. 6. *sickening*: this is a strong adjective to use for a feeling which Thackeray admits was natural; Fielding had made Richardson look ridiculous, and the latter—who had at least a double dose of vanity in his composition—was not a big enough man to forgive him.

l. 14. *Walpole . . . spoke of them*: 'Fielding had as much humour perhaps as Addison; but, having no idea of grace, is perpetually disgusting' (*Letter to John Pinkerton*, June 26, 1785).

l. 20. *Johnson would not sit down with him*: Johnson called him a 'blockhead', which term of general abuse he explained by saying he was 'a barren rascal and drew pictures of very low life' (*Boswell*, anno 1772). But see the footnote on this page.

l. 25. *Gibbon writes*: in the second edition (1814) of his *Memoirs*, at the end of the third paragraph; the passage does not appear in the first edition (1796).

l. 27. *Counts of Hapsburgh*: the reigning house of Austria, to which belonged the Emperor Charles V (abdicated 1556).

l. 31. *the Escurial* or Escorial: a monastery, palace, and

mausoleum of the Spanish sovereigns, twenty-seven miles north-west of Madrid.

PAGE 201, l. 11. *Charles Lamb says*: 'One cordial, honest laugh of a Tom Jones absolutely clears the atmosphere that was reeking with the black putrifying breathings of a hypocrite Blifil' (*On the Genius and Character of Hogarth*).

l. 24. *with manners morals appear to change*: and necessarily, the morality of a country being that which the majority of people in that country consider right; nowhere—not even in England—is this necessarily coincident with virtue.

l. 36. *tinct. lyttae*: 'incitements to sexual desire'.

PAGE 202, l. 3. *as is the plan of some authors*: see above, note to p. 170, l. 4.

l. 21. *Charles and Joseph Surface*: from Sheridan's *School for Scandal*.

PAGE 203, l. 40. *an estate of 200l.*: this statement rests on the authority of Murphy, who says he succeeded to the property at about the time of his marriage, on his mother's death. She, however, died in 1718, when Harry Fielding was eleven. There is nothing to show that he had anything more than his wife's money when he retired for what can only have been a few months to Dorsetshire.

l. 42. *Three years*: he married in November 1734, and was in London at the beginning of 1735, as appears from the preface to *The Universal Gallant*; in the spring of 1736 he took the theatre in the Haymarket.

PAGE 204, l. 13. *Colonel Bath*: an eccentric person with a profound belief in his own dignity; he was a friend of Booth's in *Amelia*.

l. 14. *Colonel Gardiner*: killed at Prestonpans in 1745. He is chiefly known to the world through his 'conversion'; he led a dissolute life in his youth, till one day, when waiting for an assignation, he saw—or fancied he saw—a vision of Christ; from that day he became conspicuous for his piety. His death is described in a note to Scott's *Waverley*.

the Duke of Cumberland: see above, note to p. 136, l. 13.

PAGE 205, l. 38. *elsewhere*: see Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, iii. 384.

PAGE 206, l. 33. *as regular a plan as I could form*: in the *Critical Review* for February 1758 there is a review of a pamphlet giving the details of Fielding's scheme; the pamphlet was entitled *An Account of the origin and effects of a police*, &c. The reviewer says, 'Among the acting justices, no man has been more active and successful than Mr. Fielding.'

l. 45. *my physical acquaintances*: 'my physicians'.

PAGE 207, l. 40. *the dirtiest money upon earth*: a magistrate

was entitled to a fee of 2*s.* 4*d.* for every person he let out on bail; unscrupulous justices made a considerable addition to their incomes by releasing on bail persons who ought to have been discharged or kept in custody. Other and more disreputable ways in which magistrates added to their incomes are given in the second chapter of *Amelia*.

STERNE AND GOLDSMITH

PAGE 208, l. 5. *James II*: this should be Charles II, as Richard Sterne, Laurence's great-grandfather, died in 1683.

l. 8. *Handyside's regiment*: this is from Sterne's *Autobiography*—where it is spelt Handaside—but it is incorrect. Handyside's regiment was the 22nd Foot; Roger Sterne was an ensign in the 34th, under Colonel Hans Hamilton, and does not appear to have ever reached higher rank than lieutenant.

l. 10. *sutler*: 'army caterer'.

his son writes: in the Autobiography prefixed to his *Letters*.

l. 19. *died presently*: in 1731 when Laurence was eighteen.

l. 24. *One relative*, &c.: these events took place before Roger Sterne's death.

l. 28. *The famous 'starling'*: see the chapter headed 'The Starling' in the *Sentimental Journey*, where the crest and coat of arms are drawn.

PAGE 209, ll. 9, 10. *Trim*, *Le Fevre*, and *Uncle Toby* all appear in *Tristram Shandy*.

l. 9. *montero cap*: a Spanish horseman's cap, with a spherical crown and flaps that could be drawn over the ears.

l. 10. *roquelaure*: a cloak reaching to the knees.

ll. 13, 14. *Ramillies* and *Malplaquet*: see above, note to p. 84, l. 30.

l. 21. *under-strapper*: 'subordinate'.

l. 25. *where he remained five years*: he was admitted a sizar in July 1733, and an exhibitioner a year later; but he did not matriculate till March 1735, and took his B.A. in 1736.

l. 27. *prebendary*: a residential canonry at a cathedral.

l. 28. *his wife's connexions*: in 1741, five years after his ordination, Sterne married Miss Elizabeth Lumley, whom he had courted for two years.

l. 35. *she said*: this appears in Sterne's *Autobiography*.

PAGE 210, l. 2. *one of his friends*: his college friend, John Hall-Stevenson. The letter is No. 119 in the *Collected Letters*, and bears no date, but has been with good reason assigned to 1758, which is seventeen, not twenty-five years after his marriage.

l. 10. *We will be as merry*, &c.: from Letter 1.

l. 21. *tutelar*: 'protecting'.

l. 25. *As I take up*, &c.: from Letter 2.

l. 30. *and then adds*: these three words were inserted in the second edition of the *Lectures*.

PAGE 211, l. 1. *supposed*: in the first edition 'expected'.

l. 3. *arroser*: 'to water'.

l. 5. *It was in December 1767*: as said above, this is not correct.

l. 7. *Yorick*: the name under which Sterne wrote his *Sentimental Journey* and published his *Sermons*.

l. 9. *public*: in the first edition 'world'.

Rabelais, François (d. 1533), the most famous of mediaeval humorists, and author of *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*, is often called 'the curé'—which does not mean curate—'of Meudon', though he held that post for two years only. Meudon is a little town five miles from Paris.

l. 24. *the same gentleman*: i.e. J. Hall-Stevenson. The letter is printed in the *Seven Letters* mentioned above.

l. 30. *two up, two down*: in cantering a horse raises his two fore feet together, and then his two hind feet.

upon my hanches, i.e. prancing; hanch is an eighteenth-century spelling of haunch, though probably here it is French.

l. 38. *louden'd*: this adjective appears in no dictionary I have consulted; I take it to mean 'loutish', 'lumpish'. Fitzgerald, in his *Life of Sterne*, prints 'condemned carl', but the word appears as 'louden'd' in the *Seven Letters*.

PAGE 213, l. 5. *Daniel Draper, Esq.*, &c.: this description of the fair Eliza's husband is by Sterne's daughter Lydia in her preface to her father's *Letters* (1775). Elizabeth Sclater had been married in Bombay at the age of fourteen to a man twenty years older than herself. She was in England for only three months at this time. Some five years after Sterne's death she ran away from her husband—unaccompanied—and shortly after returned to England, where she died in 1778, at the age of thirty-four.

l. 8. *I got thy letter*, &c.: from Letter 83, undated.

l. 9. *Lord Bathurst's*: Allen Bathurst, first Earl Bathurst (1684–1775), was an ardent Tory politician: it was to him that Pope addressed the third of his *Moral Essays*.

l. 42. *famous 'Captive'*: in the chapter so headed in the *Sentimental Journey* Sterne says, 'I began to figure to myself the miseries of confinement. I was in a right frame for it, and so I gave full scope to my imagination.' Having duly worked himself up, Yorick 'burst into tears'—hoping, no doubt, that his readers would follow suit.

l. 44. *the fille-de-chambre*: it was not the fille-de-chambre, but 'the beautiful Grisset', who caused Yorick to exclaim, 'Surely—surely, man! it is not good for thee to sit alone—thou wast

made for social intercourse and gentle greetings.' See the chapter headed 'The Husband' in the same work.

PAGE 214, l. 39. *Dulcinea*: 'lady-love', from the country wench to whom Don Quixote paid his devotions.

PAGE 215, l. 14. *dispense with*: in the obsolete sense of 'put up with', 'endure'; the exact opposite of the ordinary meaning.

l. 25. *Bramin*, or Brahmin: the highest or priestly caste among the Hindoos.

PAGE 216, l. 5. *I fear the best*, &c.: from Letter 87, undated.

l. 11. *You know who*: Mr. Fitzgerald says this refers to one of her City friends, who had warned her that she was running the risk of scandal by her intercourse with Sterne; this Sterne resented as a piece of gross interference. But Thackeray's seems the more natural interpretation.

l. 16. *I honour you, Eliza*: from Letter 89, undated.

l. 22. *Uncle Toby's widow*: i.e. the Widow Wadman, who wished to become Uncle Toby's.

l. 30. *Scarron*: Paul Scarron, a French poet and dramatist (1610–60), married Mdlle d'Aubigné, who after his death was taken into favour by Louis XIV; he gave her the title of Marquise de Maintenon, and it is said secretly married her.

l. 31. *Waller*, Edmund, a poet of the Commonwealth and Restoration, who celebrated Lady Dorothy Sidney under the name of Saccharissa.

l. 35. *sneering allusions*: I have not been able to find any such. Sterne was in some respects a sufficiently despicable person, but it does not appear to have been one of his vices to sneer at the women he fancied himself in love with. He took his emotions far too seriously for that.

l. 36. *Her ship was*, &c.: as the letter to Lady P—— is dated merely 'Tuesday, 3 o'clock'—it is No. 92 in the collection—one would like to know Thackeray's authority for thus fixing the date. Mr. Fitzgerald places it much earlier.

l. 37. *the Downs*: the part of the English Channel off Deal between the Goodwin Sands and the coast.

l. 38. *'Mount' Coffee-house*: in Mount Street, off Park Lane.

l. 40. *Lady P——*: Lady Percy, daughter of Lord Bute.

PAGE 217, l. 10. *at Letter 112*: the letter printed in the footnote is 114 and not 112. The latter runs:—

'To MRS. H.

'Coxwould, October 12, 1767.

Ever since my dear H. wrote me word she was mine, more than ever woman was, I have been racking my memory to inform me where it was that you and I had that affair together. —People think that I have had many, some in body, some in mind; but as I told you before you have had me more than

any woman—therefore you must have had me, H——, both in mind and in body.—Now I cannot recollect where it was, nor exactly when—it could not be the lady in Bond Street, or Grosvenor Street, or —— Square, or Pall Mall. We shall make it out, H., when we meet—I impatiently long for it. . . . God bless you.

'Yours

'L. STERNE.'

Neither of these letters goes to show that Sterne 'was paying his addresses' to 'a No. 3'.

PAGE 218, l. 1. *In his last letter*: No. 128, to Mrs. James, written conjecturally March 8, 1768, ten days before his death.

l. 22. *at No. 41*: it is now Agnew's Picture Gallery.

l. 28. *detailed by Mrs. Quickly*: 'So 'a bade me lay more clothes on his feet; I put my hand into the bed and felt them, and they were as cold as any stone; then I felt to his knees, and so upward and upward, and all was as cold as any stone' (*Henry V*, II. iii).

PAGE 219, l. 13. *des chansons grivoises*: 'loose songs'.

PAGE 220, l. 9. *Dessein's Hotel*: at Calais; now a museum.

l. 12. *the désobligeante*: (which Sterne and Thackeray write 'désobligeant'), a chaise so called because it would hold only one passenger.

l. 16. *Mount Sennis*: there was only a mule track over Mont Cenis till the time of Napoleon, so a chaise would have to be taken to pieces to be carried over.

l. 23. *Paillasse*: a clown or Merry Andrew.

l. 29. '*The man who*,' *&c. &c.*: e.g. 'the man who can break the laws of hospitality'—'the man who is entrusted with his friend's distresses'—'the man who shuts out conviction'—these three are all from the famous 'screen scene' in the *School for Scandal* (IV. iii).

l. 32. *turning that notorious old monk to good account*: i.e. in the 'lucrative gift of weeping'. Both Sterne and Thackeray ignore the fact that a Franciscan is not a monk, but a friar.

PAGE 221, l. 2. *like M. de Soubise's cook*: Charles de Rohan, Prince de Soubise (1715–87), was a French general who fought in the Seven Years' War and was defeated by Frederick II at Rossbach. He carried a crowd of cooks and confectioners in his train, but I have been unable to trace the incident to which Thackeray here alludes.

l. 16. *turned in*: sc. to the gateway of the inn at Lyons.

l. 18. *eleemosynary*: 'given in charity'.

PAGE 223, l. 1. *A page or two farther*: *Tristram Shandy*, Book VII, chap. xliii.

l. 6. *Nismes and Lunel*: two towns near the mouth of the Rhone.

l. 7. *Muscatto wine*: made from Muscatel grapes.

l. 10. *made a dead point*: 'pulled up dead and gazed at the spot'.

l. 11. *tabourin*: (or taborin), a kind of small drum struck with one stick only. Thackeray substituted 'tambourine', which is not at all the same.

l. 26. *whom Apollo had recompensed*, &c.: the distinction is well made; ability to play on the pipe is the gift of the God of Music, but the drum can be beaten without divine inspiration.

l. 37. '*Viva la joia*', &c.: 'Hurrah for joy! away with sadness!'

PAGE 225, l. 3. *the last words the famous author wrote*: the *Sentimental Journey* was published in 1768, the year of Sterne's death.

l. 4. *the last lines*: see above, p. 218, l. 1.

l. 10. *Jeté sur cette boule*, &c.:—

Mean, ugly, suffering, hurled
Into this weary world,
Half stifled 'mid the shoulders of the throng,

I raised a piteous cry;
The good God made reply,
'Nay, sing, poor little one, sing all day long!'

To sing then—be it so—
Is my lot here below,
And gain perchance their love who hear my song.

l. 22. *Béranger*, Pierre Jean de (1780–1857), a famous French lyric poet; the lines are from a poem of five stanzas called 'Ma Vocation'.

PAGE 226, l. 10. *Auburn and Wakefield*: the scenes of *The Deserted Village* and *The Vicar of Wakefield*.

l. 11. *Lissoy*: see below, p. 229, l. 4.

l. 38. *Herder*, Johann Gottfried von (1744–1803), a German critic and poet. In 1776, ten years after the appearance of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, he went as court chaplain to Weimar, where Goethe also lived.

PAGE 227, l. 1. *hamlet*: in the first edition follow the words 'in Europe'.

l. 8. *Melchizedeck*: see Hebrews vii. 1. 'This Melchisedec, king of Salem, priest of God.'

l. 33. *our excellent Wakefield*: the practice of calling a clergyman by the name of his parish is, so far as I can learn, no more usual in Germany than in England.

PAGE 228, l. 1. *Doctor Primrose*: the Vicar was no doubt drawn in part from the Rev. Charles Goldsmith, but in many features he was a copy of the William Whiston so often mentioned in the novel, who was Professor of Mathematics at Cam-

bridge, translator of *Josephus*, and the firm upholder of some very wild theology (1667–1752).

l. 21. *the Inny*: the river in Longford near Pallas.

PAGE 229, l. 4. *Lissoy* has since adopted the name 'Auburn'.

l. 15. *the kitchen turf*: turf or peat is the usual fuel in Ireland.

l. 23. *a half-dozen of Irish dependants*: it was not only for purposes of spunging that Irishmen kept together. See the *Journal to Stella*, December 19, 1711, 'Patrick [the Dean's servant] is gone to the burial of an Irish footman. . . . The Irish servants always club to bury a countryman.'

PAGE 230, l. 11. *Paddy Byrne*: an old soldier, whose true first name was Thomas.

l. 26. *by his brother's lines*: see *The Deserted Village*, 141–2:—

> A man he was to all the country dear,
> And passing rich with forty pounds a year.

PAGE 231, l. 4. '*Mistake of a Night*': the sub-title of *She Stoops to Conquer*—which was based on this incident—was *The Mistakes of a Night*.

l. 17. *the queer*: in the first edition 'a queer'.

l. 33. *the heirs of Mr. Filby*: the first edition has 'heirs and assignees of Mr. Filby'.

PAGE 232, l. 1. *until lately*: the pane was cut out of the window in 1837, and is now in Trinity College Library.

l. 4. *sizar's*: a sizar was a poor scholar at a University who received free education in return for certain menial offices. These are no longer required from the modern sizar, who is merely the holder of a small exhibition.

l. 19. *buckeen*: a young Irishman of the inferior gentry.

l. 20. *one patron*: he held a tutorship with one Mr. Flinn for a time.

l. 24. *the woolsack*: the seat of the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords.

PAGE 233, l. 4. *Farheim, Du Petit, and Duhamel du Monceau*: in the letter the last two are called 'Petit' and 'Du Hamel de Monceau'. Professor Phelps says the names should be Antoine Ferrein, Petit and Duhamel-Dumonceau; the first was appointed Professor of Anatomy and Surgery at the Jardin des Plantes, Paris, in 1758, before which he held the Chair of Medicine at the Collége de France. Petit was, I suppose, Antoine Petit, who succeeded Ferrein at the Jardin des Plantes. Henri-Louis Duhamel du Monceau was a famous botanist, who wrote many useful works on agriculture.

l. 19. *Ballymahon*: the nearest town to the hamlet of Lissoy; his mother's home after his father's death in 1747.

l. 22. *But me*, &c.: from *The Traveller*, 23–30; 'me' is the object of the verb 'leads' six lines below.

l. 26. *the circle*, &c.: i.e. the horizon.

PAGE 234, l. 6. *London court*: Green Arbour Court, off Old Bailey; Goldsmith took rooms at No. 12 in 1758. Holborn Viaduct Station now occupies the site.

l. 7. *that queer coal-scuttle*: 'While they were conversing . . . a poor ragged little girl of very decent behaviour entered, who, dropping a curtsey, said, "My mama sends her compliments and begs the favour of you to lend her a chamber-pot full of coals"' (from Bishop Percy's Memoir, quoted by Forster, *Life*, Book II, chap. vi).

l. 17. *the print of me*: this was by Marchi, and appeared in December 1770, the picture having been exhibited the previous April. Forster gives this incident in his *Life*, the old pupil being a Mr. Samuel Bishop.

l. 29. *an 'inspired idiot'*: the term applied to Goldsmith by Horace Walpole. See Boswell's *Johnson*, s. a. 1763, in footnote.

l. 30. *the 'gooseberry-fool'*: Goldsmith's term for himself in *Retaliation*, l. 16.

PAGE 235, l. 8. *Beattie*, James (1735–1803), a Scottish poet, essayist, and philosophical writer; he was sometime Professor at Aberdeen.

PAGE 236, l. 1. *Kelly*, Hugh, a writer of sentimental comedies; his *False Delicacy* had been a huge success just before Goldsmith produced *The Good-natur'd Man* (1768).

l. 8. *Colman's actors*: George Colman, the elder (1732–94), was manager at Covent Garden. Goldsmith offered him *She Stoops to Conquer* in 1772, but Colman could not make up his mind to accept it for a twelvemonth; and when he had at last agreed, some of the actors threw up their parts at rehearsal, feeling sure the play would prove a failure, so different was it from the stilted comedies of sentiment which were then the rage.

l. 33. *a letter*: printed in Forster's *Life*, Book II, chap. v; the books had been sent to Goldsmith to review.

PAGE 237, l. 1. *'He was wild, sir'*: 'Dr. Goldsmith is one of the first men we now have as an author, and he is a very worthy man too. He has been loose in his principles, but he is coming right' (*Boswell*, anno 1763).

l. 21. *who has touched on almost every subject*, &c.: from the Latin epitaph written for Goldsmith by Johnson, which contains the lines:—

Qui nullum fere scribendi genus
Non tetigit;
Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit.

l. 35. *the Spectator appeared*: i.e. as a silent, reserved person (see *Spectator*, No. 12).

l. 36. *the Lusiad*: the national epic of the Portuguese by Camoens (1572), which Goldsmith, despite his entire ignorance

of the language, professed himself ready to translate. He was fortunately induced to transfer the work to Mickle, a Scot, who is best known in England as author of *There's nae luck aboot the Hoose.*

PAGE 238, l. 7. *Was ever poet,* &c.: from a letter to Boswell, July 4, 1774.

l. 28. *the chambers in the Temple*: Goldsmith moved to 2 Brick Court, Temple, in the early part of 1768. He had before had chambers in Garden Court and in King's Bench Walk.

l. 41. *in Boswell*: from a letter to Bennet Langton.

PAGE 239, l. 8. *Here as I take,* &c.: from *The Deserted Village,* l. 77 sqq. As quoted by Thackeray these lines sometimes draw from the first edition, sometimes from the fourth, and sometimes from his imagination. Seven editions appeared in Goldsmith's lifetime, six of them in 1770 and one in 1772. A few changes were made in the third and more in the fourth, none subsequently. I have corrected from the fourth edition.

l. 11. After this in the first three editions comes :—

> Here, as with doubtful, pensive steps I range,
> Trace every scene and wonder at the change,
> Remembrance, &c.

ll. 18, 19. In the first three editions these ran :—

> My anxious day to husband near the close
> And keep life's flame, &c.

l. 25. *she* is the reading of all seven editions; 'he' appears in an edition of 1788, in Cunningham's edition of 1854—which professes to follow the fourth edition—in the Globe edition (1871) and in Lady Ritchie's edition of these *Lectures.*

PAGE 240, l. 5. *How happy*: in the first two editions 'How blest is'.

l. 12. *the gate*: in the first edition 'his'.

l. 15. *Bends*: in the first two editions 'Sinks'.

l. 29. *Utopia*: 'ideal community', from Sir Thomas More's work of that name; the term literally means 'nowhere'.

Yvetot: 'Le Roi d'Yvetot' was the title of a song by Béranger (for whom see above, note to p. 225, l. 22); it was written in 1813 to celebrate the blessings of a small dominion whose ruler aimed at happiness rather than conquest. Thackeray made a translation of the ballad, which is to be found in his works. Yvetot is a small town in the north of France, which, with its adjacent territory, had a king of its own during part of the Middle Ages.

PAGE 241, l. 2. *my Lord Clare* and *my Lord Nugent* were the same person, viz. Mr. Robert Nugent, Comptroller of the Prince of Wales' Household; he was raised to the Irish peerage as

Viscount Clare in 1766, and Earl Nugent ten years later. He was Goldsmith's solitary patron, to whom *The Haunch of Venison* was addressed. He was never a member of the Club, neither was he related to the Dr. Nugent who was an original member.

my Lord Bishop: several bishops were at one time or another members of the Club, among them being the Bishop Percy mentioned in the note to p. 234, l. 7.

l. 19. *Goldy's play*: various names were suggested for *She Stoops to Conquer*, 'The Mistakes of a Night,' 'The Old House a New Inn,' and 'The Belle's Stratagem' being some of them. The name finally chosen was Goldsmith's own suggestion, possibly prompted, Mr. Doble suggests, by Dryden's line—'But kneels to conquer and but stoops to rise.'

PAGE 242, l. 5. *Ranelagh*: these famous gardens were at the east of Chelsea Hospital; the Rotunda was built in 1740 for the performance of masquerades and concerts. For a time Ranelagh quite eclipsed Vauxhall, but it gradually fell into disrepute, and was closed in 1805.

l. 6. *the Pantheon*, in Oxford Street, was opened in 1771 as a place for dancing and theatricals: it was burnt down in 1792, and when rebuilt was again burnt down. The site is now occupied by Messrs. Gilbey, the wine merchants.

Madame Cornelys': a Venetian who was the manager of Carlisle House, Soho Square, where balls and concerts were held. After twelve very profitable years, during which her rooms were thronged by all the rank and fashion of the day, she was reduced to bankruptcy by the opening of the Pantheon.

l. 7. *the Jessamy Bride*: the pet name Goldsmith gave to the younger of the Miss Hornecks—Jessamy is another form of Jasmine. She afterwards married Colonel Gwyn (see p. 239, l. 39). If Goldsmith ever was in love, it was with this charming girl; but, so far as we know, he never confessed it either to her or to any one else.

l. 11. *her beautiful sister*: Catherine, called by Goldsmith 'Little Comedy'.

l. 13. *Gillray*, James (1757–1815), the famous caricaturist; about twelve or fifteen hundred works are ascribed to him, most of them reflecting on the king or the court.

l. 27. *Northcote*, James, R.A. (1746–1831), a well-known portrait painter, and the author of a Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

l. 29. *The younger Colman*: George, son of the George Colman mentioned above, p. 236, l. 8; like his father he was a dramatist, his best known play being *The Heir at Law*. The passage quoted is from his *Random Records*.

PAGE 243, l. 31. *plucked his gown*, &c.: from *The Deserted Village*, l. 184.

40. "*compassion for another's woe*": I cannot find this quota-

tion, if it be one. Professor Regel suggests that Colman was thinking of the lines in *The Deserted Village* (371–2):—

> The good old sire the first prepar'd to go
> To new-found worlds, and wept for other's woe.

PAGE 244, l. 9. *the righteous pen*: see above, note to p. 237, l. 21.

PAGE 245, l. 7. *shall*: in the first edition 'should'.

l. 27. *running races with the constable*: the more usual phrase is 'outrunning the constable', i.e. getting into debt.

PAGE 246, l. 3. *Counsellor*: see above, note to p. 147, l. 42.

l. 40. *a publisher might keep his masterpiece*: see above 236, l. 5.

ADDENDUM

PAGE 105, l. 15. *A thousand torments*, &c.: see Addison's *Rosamond*, III. ii. 11, 12:

> Endless torments dwell about thee:
> Yet who would live, and live without thee?

This work, which calls itself a Tragic-Opera, though it reads more like Comedy, was produced in 1707.

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